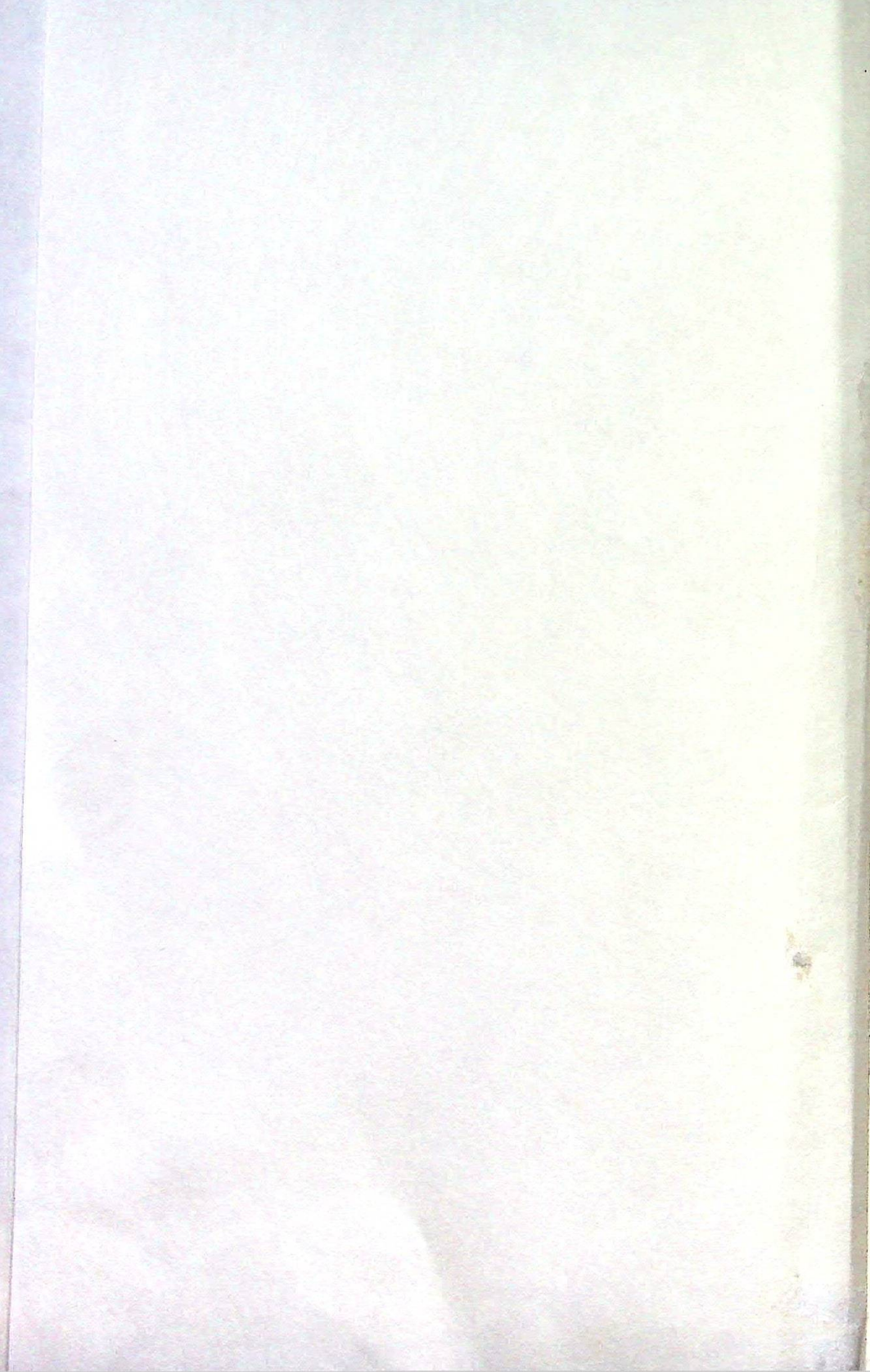
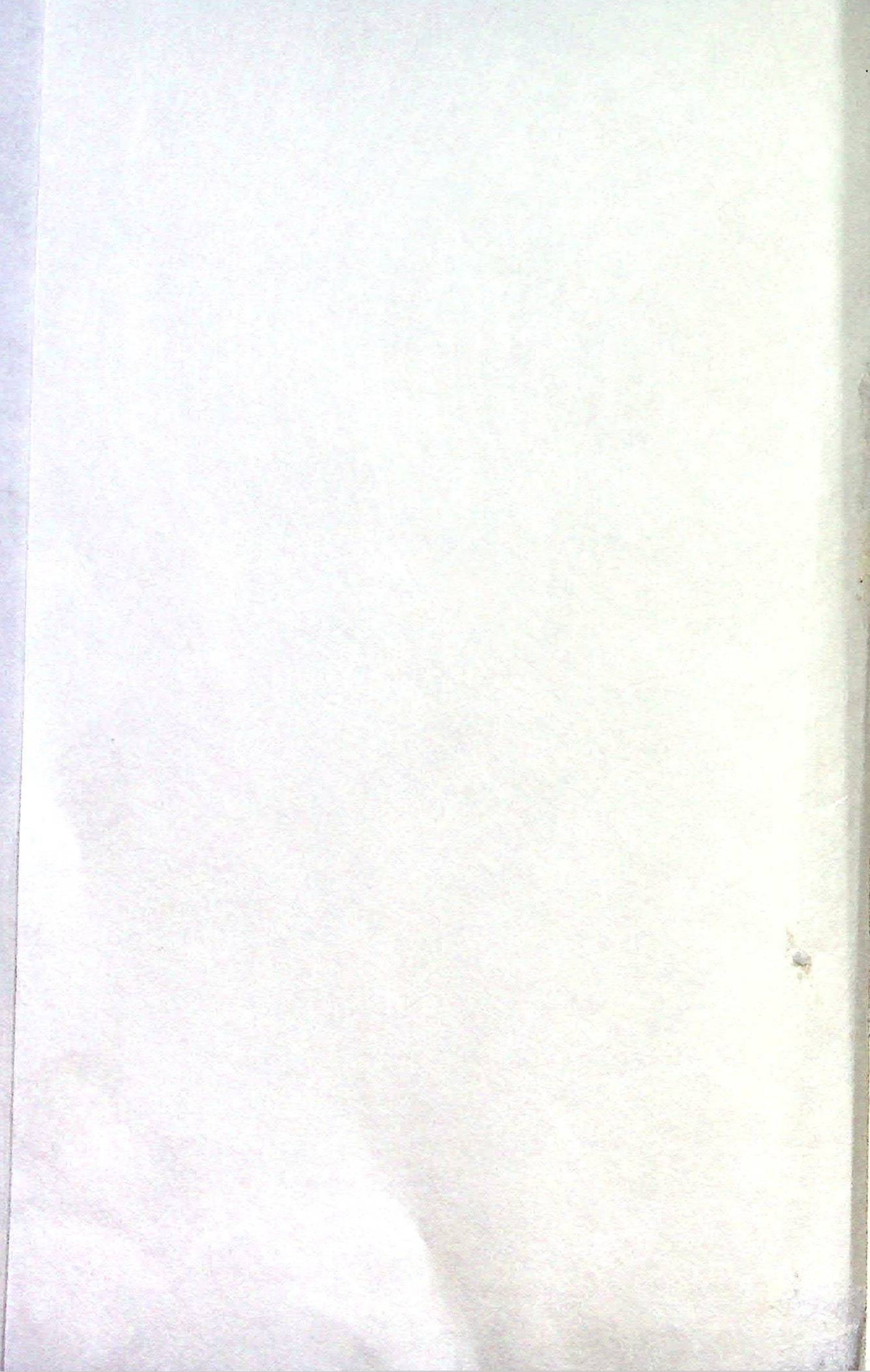




**History of Medieval Deccan
As Reflected in
Arabic and Persian Manuscripts**



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Samikshika Series

Volume - 8

General Editor

V. Venkataramana Reddy

History of Medieval Deccan

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Arabic and Persian Manuscripts

Editor

Zareena Parveen



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INTRODUCTION

The Archives have the distinction of preserving the largest number of Deccan records. Such a large quantum of Deccan records of manuscripts and other documentary evidence are not available in any other State Archives of the country and even in the National Archives of India, New Delhi. Among the various categories of records preserved in the Archives, the category of Mughal paper manuscript is the oldest one.

In view of the great significance of the Deccan Manuscripts and its huge demand by the Research Scholars, the Archives undertook the crucial work of 3-day National Seminar on "The History of the Medieval Deccan as Reflected in Arabic and Persian Manuscripts" in collaboration with National Mission for Manuscripts, New Delhi with a great deal of efforts to make the first of its kind event to happen.

The first ever seminar on Deccan history reflecting with manuscript of Arabic and Persian received applause from one and all. The main objective of this seminar was to explore the material available concerning the Deccan History in India during medieval period as reflected in Arabic and Persian Manuscripts. The Research Scholars from all over India has participated and shared their views by presenting their well-researched papers. It gives me great pleasure to place before the scholarly world, the work of 3 days National Seminar.

There are an estimated 5 million (50 Lakhs) Manuscript in

India, where as the number of Indian manuscripts available in European Countries are as much as 60,000 and South Asia and Asian Countries have 1,50,000 manuscripts.

The number would certainly have been much higher if millions of such manuscripts were not lost as a result of arson, loot, piracy and plunder at the hands of foreign invaders.

The two catastrophic events that struck at the very roots of Islamic civilization were the devastation of Baghdad at the hands of Tatars in 1258 when beside a colossal loss of human lives, hundreds of thousands of books were burnt or thrown into River Dejlal turning its water with blood and black with ink. The second tragedy being the fall of Granada at the hands of crusaders in 1492 when the forces of Queen Isabel and her husband Fernandez ordered burning of books at Babar- Ramla and indiscriminate killing of men, women and children. If accounts of Historians are to be believed even if half of what they have recorded is true--for a long time, books were used to light bonfires and to keep houses warm in the winter season.

The array of subjects these manuscript deal with Includes: Science, logic, medicine, agriculture, calligraphy, physics, lexicography, mathematics, Astronomy, History, music, poetry, rhetoric etc.

The languagewise percentage of manuscripts are Sanskrit 67%, other Indian languages 25% and Arabic/Persian/Tibetan 8%. During the history extending over 5000 years, India has produced a large wealth of literature. This vast knowledge treasure was written on different kinds of material like birch bark, palm leaf, cloth, wood, stone and paper. India perhaps has one of the oldest and largest collections of manuscripts in the world. They are in the custody of different institution like, Libraries, Museums, Temples, Mutts, Ashram, Monasteries, Mosques and individuals. Many of them have disappeared, damaged or deteriorated owing

to negligence and foreign aggression. There are many libraries in the world where rare manuscripts of Indian origin are preserved.

I am very grateful to the National Mission for Manuscript for financial assistance in order to conduct this important seminar and for the publication of proceedings as well. My sincere thanks goes to Sri. V.Ranga Raj, Deputy Director, Sri Ramakrishna, Sri.S. Mahesh Reddy for their sincere support in conducting the seminar successfully. I thank Sri. M.A.Raqeeb, Assistant Director for meticulous proof reading. I am also thankful to the M..C.C. Team particularly Smt. Sudha Kuchibhotla, Assistant conservator for executing the 3- day National Seminar.

I am sure that the outcome of the Seminar will give insight to Research Scholars for further research on the era.

Dr. Zareena Parveen

Director, State Archives & Research Institute,
and District Gazetteers, Hyderabad, Telangana

FOREWORD

Manuscripts in Perso-Arabic and vernacular languages describe eloquently the history of medieval Deccan and Muslim governance, systems and the rich cultural heritage of the times. Many areas of studies of the said period have already been explored and the research is still going on to bring out the hidden information contained in the manuscripts.

A few years back, the National Mission for Manuscripts had organised a seminar on 'The History of Medieval Deccan As Reflected In Arabic And Persian Manuscripts', in A.P. State Archives & Research Institute, under the guidance of Prof. Chander Shekhar, Head of Persian Dept. (Delhi University) and able leadership of Dr. Zareena Parveen, the Director of A.P. State Archives, which is the repository of a vast collection of documents, especially from the period of Shah Jahan.

The wide range of subjects and various facts of history and culture of medieval Deccan were highlighted in the seminar.

The seminar-proceedings that are published in this volume are the witness of painstaking research of the scholars on lesser known or hitherto unknown manuscripts that are lying in the Archives of India.

I do hope these academic papers will be a great source of historic information to the readers and create further interest amongst the researchers.

V. Vankataramana Reddy

Director

National Mission for Manuscripts

FOREWORD

The purpose of this book is to provide a comprehensive and up-to-date account of the current state of knowledge in the field of [illegible]. It is intended for use by students, researchers, and practitioners alike. The book is organized into several parts, each dealing with a different aspect of the subject. The first part provides an overview of the field, while the subsequent parts delve into more specific topics. The book is written in a clear and concise style, and includes numerous references to the latest research in the field.

The book is divided into three main sections. The first section, [illegible], provides a general introduction to the field and discusses the major theories and concepts. The second section, [illegible], deals with the application of these theories and concepts to specific problems. The third section, [illegible], discusses the future of the field and the challenges that lie ahead. The book is written in a clear and concise style, and includes numerous references to the latest research in the field.

The book is intended for use by students, researchers, and practitioners alike. It is a comprehensive and up-to-date account of the current state of knowledge in the field of [illegible].

The book is organized into several parts, each dealing with a different aspect of the subject. The first part provides an overview of the field, while the subsequent parts delve into more specific topics. The book is written in a clear and concise style, and includes numerous references to the latest research in the field.

I hope these comments will be of some use to you. The book is intended for use by students, researchers, and practitioners alike. It is a comprehensive and up-to-date account of the current state of knowledge in the field of [illegible].

V. J. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

THE JUNAYDI ORDER IN THE DECCAN: TWO SUFIC TREATISES

Mohammad Suleman Siddiqi

This paper highlights two scrolls from Junaydi order of Deccan of 17th c. Amongst these, the first one is *Shajara-i ansāb abā-i kirām-i khud* (family genealogy of our ancestors). It starts with the Prophet Adam (PBUH), continues through Prophet Ibrahim (PBUH) and the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), on to Abu'l-Qasim al-Junayd of Baghdad, then the Junaydī Sufi master 'Ayn al-Dīn Muhammad alias Ganj al-'Ilm of Bijapur, and ends with the compiler of the genealogy, namely, Shaykh Mustafa. The second scroll is the spiritual genealogy, entitled *Shajara-i irddat wa ijdzat peshwdydn-i khud* (lineage of initiation and succession of our spiritual mentors). It commences with Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), runs to Abu'l-Qasim al-Junayd Baghdādī and continues through several alternative lineages of 'Ayn al-Dīn Muhammad alias Ganj al-'Ilm and ends with Shaykh Mustafa.

These two genealogies are a treasure house of information upon the Junaydi Sufis who flourished in North India at Lucknow, Kāda and Delhi during the Sultanate period and later at Daulatabad, Kodchi, Gulbarga, Sagar and Bijapur in the Deccan during the Bahmani period. Both these genealogies contain extracts from *Atwār al-abrār*, written by 'Ayn al-Dīn Muhammad alias *Ganj al-'Ilm*, *Nāfahdt al-uns*, by Allamah Jamī, and *Kashf al-mahjūb* by 'All al-Hujwerl Data Ganj Bakhsh. *Atwār al-abrār*, is an extinct

source and its author was an eyewitness to the events of the early fourteen century, such as the transfer of capital by Muhammad bin Tughluq in 727/1327, the origin and development of the Bahmani kingdom, and the migration of a large number of Junaydī Sufis, their descendants, disciples, *khulafā* and companions.

‘Ayn al-Dīn Muhammad alias Ganj al-’Ilm, was the author of one hundred and thirty-two treatises on a range of topics. In the field of mysticism, he author eighteen works which includes *Atwār al-abrar*, a biographical dictionary of the fourteenth century. In the field of genealogy, he wrote four works — *Shajarah-i mubaraka-i tayyaba*,¹ *Jam’ al-ansab*, *Majmu’a* and *Mawjiz*. The compiler of these two genealogies, Shaykh Mustafa bin Shaykh ‘Alī (d. 1068/1657), was the eleventh descendant of ‘Ayn al-Dīn Muhammad alias Ganj al-’Ilm. These works were available to him in the family collection which included *Shajarah-i mubaraka-i tayyaba*. How else would Shaykh Mustafa have been in a position in the seventeenth century to draft a genealogy from the times of Adam? On the basis of this evidence, it is obvious that Shaykh Mustafa used *Shajarah-i mubaraka-i tayyaba* and added notes from *Atwār al-abrar* by translating them into Persian from the original Arabic. To substantiate the authenticity of this material in both the genealogies, I have cross-checked the information from *Nafahat al-uns* and *Kashf al-Mahjūb* and found them to be correct.

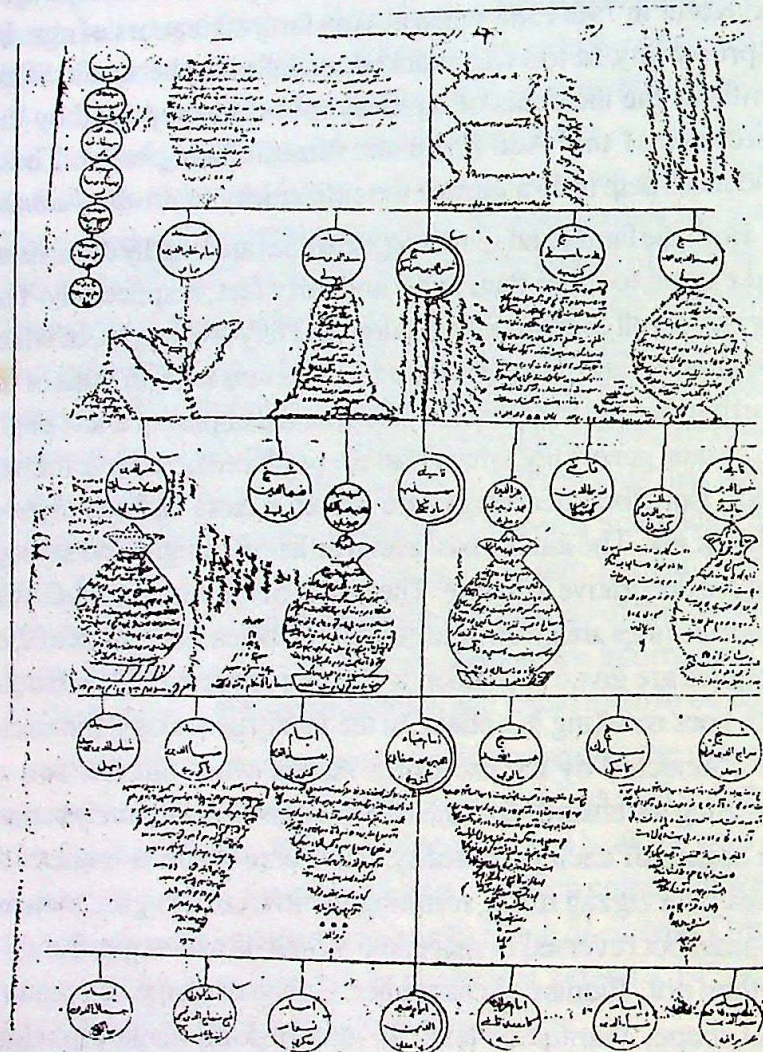
Afwar offers some new information regarding the movement of caravans between Delhi and Daulatabad, as well as between Daulatabad, Shiraz, Mēcca and Madina and back — with dates as well as names of towns and cities ~ which coincides with the partial information available in Isāmī’s *Futuh al-salātīn*. This helps us to corroborate that *Atwār al-abrar* is indeed a 14th century work compiled by ‘Ayn al-Dm Ganj al-’Ilm.

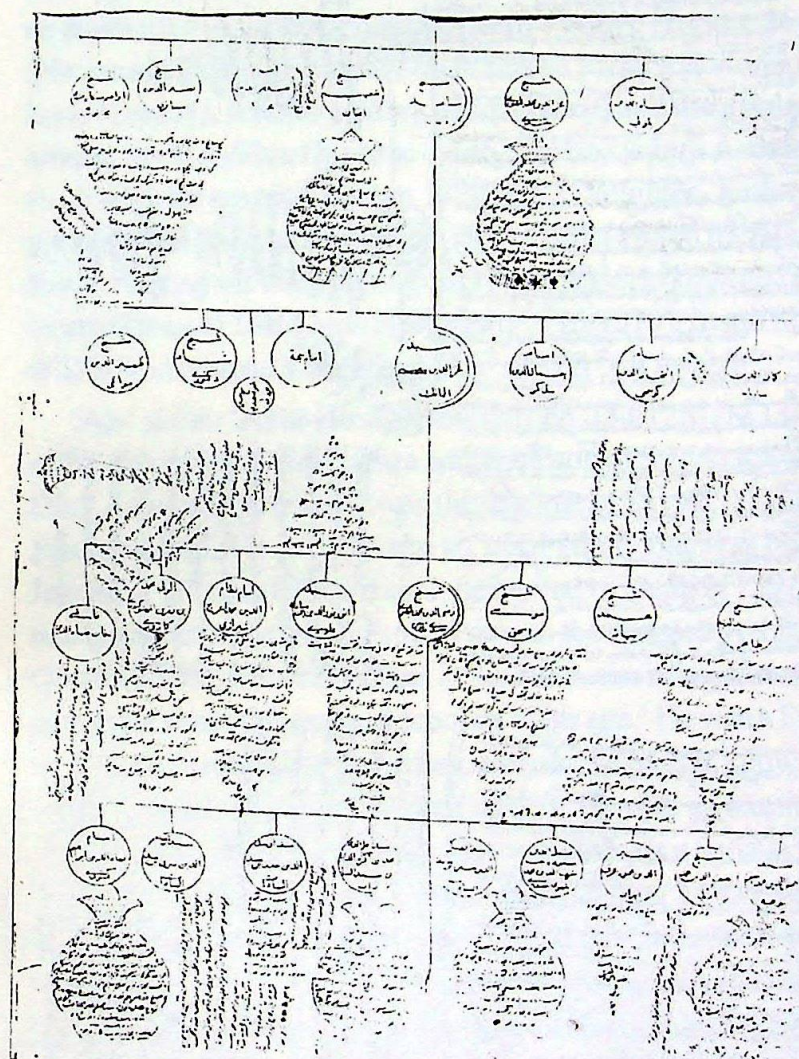
Atwār also mentions two incidents in which an encounter took place between highway robbers and a contingent of Junaydī Sufis,

confirming the reports of highway robberies mentioned in *Tārikh-i firishṭa* and *Burhān-i ma'āthir*. 'Imād al-Dīn Ahmad Sangānī, the son of Wajlīh al-Dīn Sangānī, was killed at the young age of thirty while he was traveling between Sagar and Gulbarga in the year 751/1352. Atwār further informs us that Shaykh Nur al-Dīn Muhammad, son of Ibrāhīm Sangānī, disappeared between Sagar and Kohīr in 790/1388 when he was forty-nine years of age. In all probability, he too was attacked and killed by the dacoits. This confirms the incidents of highway robbery as reported by the historians of the 'Adil Shahī and Nizam Shahī period. These evidences help us to ascertain the authenticity of *Atwār al-abrār*.

Both the family and spiritual genealogies are lengthy documents and extend to more than thirty and forty feet, respectively. The spiritual scroll contains four hundred and fifty-five entries, of which one hundred and thirty-three contain notes on Junaydī Sufis of the North India and the Deccan. The scanned copies of a few pages of spiritual genealogy, which I have reproduced here, have thirteen folios. Both these genealogies are written in nasta'liq form on paper in black ink. The author has drawn different designs and settings that are decorative in nature. The names of the eminent saints with honorific titles are given in large circles whereas the names of their disciples are given in smaller circles that are linked to each other with lines resulting in a chain. In the family genealogy, the circles are connected by the use of the Arabic word *bin*, i.e. son of, indicating the chain of descent. Notes are given immediately beneath the names of each personality, but where space is limited, the notes take zigzag turns, resulting in different designs, such as a pyramid but reversed in shape, the Mihrāb in a mosque, Surahi or earthen pot, Jhumar or chandelier, Qubba or dome, Bayzawi or oval shape, Waraqa or leaf, 'Itr-dan or long-necked perfume vessel, chain or umbrella, and kites. In the family genealogy, where the descendants are large in number and are linked with the word *bin*, the design results in a sort of web. These different designs in

the two scrolls were obviously intended to be attractive and pleasing to the reader's eye. The following are sample pages of the spiritual genealogy with notes:

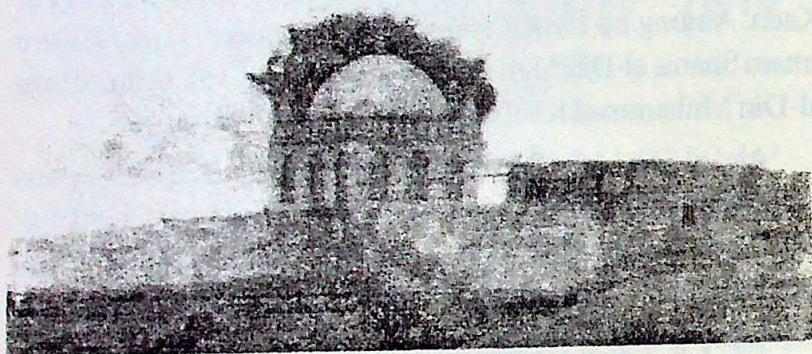




According to the information available in these Shajarat, the first Junaydi who migrated to North India and settled in Delhi was Sayyid Kabîr Qutb al-Dîn Muhammad Ghaznawî Husaynî (581-677/1185-1278). He was a leader (imam), a scholar ('*âlim*) and an eminent personality of his time (*sâdât-i waqt*). His son, Sayyid Qiwwam al-Dîn Mahmûd (627-710/1229-1310), was a religious leader (imam), scholar ('*âlim*), mystic ('*ârif*) and the axial saint among the Sayyids of his time (*qutb-i sadat-i waqt*). According to *Atwâr*, he married Sultan Iltutmish's daughter, Fatha. He remained in Delhi throughout his life but often visited his father at Kada. Among his most distinguished successors (*khulafâ*) were Imam Shams al-Dîn Ahmad Husaynî (d. 715/1315), Imam Shams al-Dîn Muhammad Khafîb and 'Ala' al-Dîn 'Alî Jewerî.²

'Ala' al-Dîn 'All al-Husaynî Jewerî (666-734/1267-1333), son of Sayyid Jamal al-Dîn Hamza and grandson of Sayyid Kamal al-Dîn 'Aewaz Muhammad, was the disciple of Sayyid Qiwwam al-Dîn Mahmud. He hailed from an Iraqi family but was born at Jalandhar (Punjab). From there, he moved to Delhi in 729/1328 to acquire knowledge and spend time in the company of Sayyid Qiwwam al-Dîn, who trained him in the intricacies of mysticism. He also spent time with eminent scholars of his age.³ He was a Sayyid by descent, a teacher of high merit, a master of Islamic knowledge (*sharî'a*) and mystical practice (*tango*). He was an exemplary Sufî master (*Shaykh-i tarîqat*).⁴ He was the axis of pivots (*qutb al-madâr*) of his time and students from all over India gathered around him, including many jurists from the cities of Delhi and Daulatabad.⁵ At the peak of the controversy regarding the legality of listening to music in Sufi gatherings (*ibâhat-i samâ*) Ghiyas al-Dîn Tughluq (1320-1325) summoned Shaykh Nizam al-Dîn Awliya' to an official debate (*mahzar*). It was 'Ala' al-Dîn 'Alî Jewerî who drafted the evidence in favour of the legality of music and presented them to the Shaykh, who appreciated it profoundly.⁶ 'Ala' al-Dîn 'Alî Jewerî migrated to Daulatabad following

Tughluq's shift of the capital from Delhi in 727/1327.¹ There, he taught Islamic law and Qur'anic exegesis and delivered lectures on *Bidāya*, *Bazdawî*, *Miftāh* and *Kashshāf*. He died at Daulatabad but later his mortal remains were taken to Delhi and buried there. However, at Daulatabad, his *Takiyah* is venerated by the people of the Deccan.

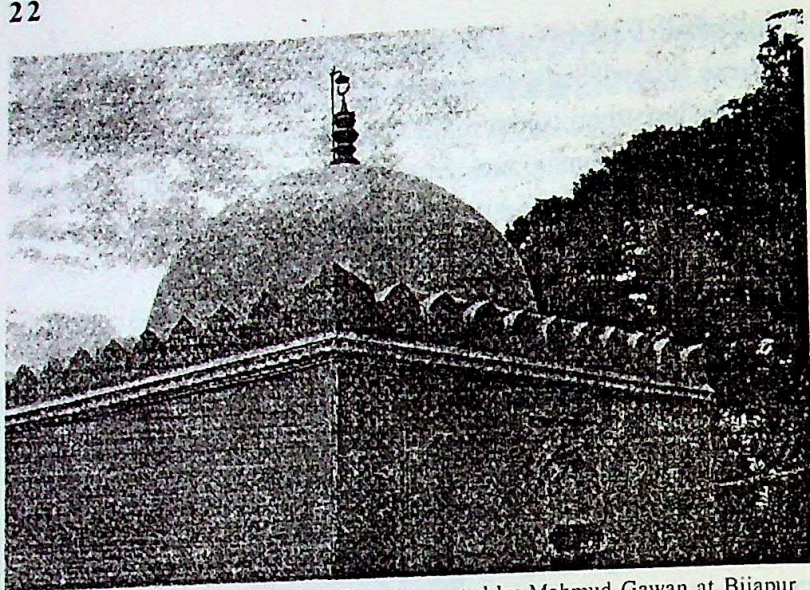


The *Takiyah* of Shaykh 'Alā al-Dīn Jewerī at Sayyidabad,
now known as Nazarabad at Daulatabad

The excerpts of *Atwār al-abrār* cited in the scroll add a new dimension to our understanding of the makeup of the Muslim religious elite at Daulatabad-Khuldabad immediately after the change of capital in 727/1327. Scholars have long maintained that only the Chishtī Sufis were responsible for laying a firm foundation of Muslim society and the propagation of Islam at Daulatabad, but in the light of this new finding, it is obvious that apart from the Chishtīs, a large number of Junaydī Sufis also migrated to Daulatabad and participated in Muhammad bin Tughluq's effort to establish the first Muslim urban center in the Deccan. They also participated in the religious administration and in laying firm foundations of Islam and its propagation at

Daulatabad. Little or nothing has been known about the role played by these Junaydî Sufis along with their Chishtî counterparts in the first Muslim urban center in the Deccan but with the discovery of this scroll, a beginning has been made and we can state that apart from the Chishtîs, the Junaydîs were also an important component of the religious elite at Daulatabad.

‘Ala’ al-Dîn ‘Alî Jewerî’s most illustrious disciple and successor was ‘Ayn al-Dîn Muhammad alias Ganj al-’Ilm (706-795/1306-1392). He was born at Shar-i Naw⁸, known earlier as Jahain, a town three koss⁹ west of Delhi, near the fort of Ranthambore. While living near Delhi, Ganj al-’Ilm studied the Qur’an, learned diction (*lughat*) and calligraphy (*khat wa kitābat*) and the science of syntax and grammar (*sarf wa nahw*). After moving to the Deccan, he studied Islamic law and jurisprudence (*fiqh* and *usul al-fiqh*) at *Hairûl*, a town seven koss west of Deogir. At Daulatabad, he also learned Qur’anic exegesis from his Sufi master, ‘Ala’ al-Dîn ‘Alî Jewen.¹⁰ ‘Ayn al-Dm Ganj al-’Ilm met and received blessings from many Sufi masters of his time.¹¹ He learnt by heart meditations (*azkar*), practices (*ashghāl*), sermons (*mawa’iz*) and stories (*hikāyāt*) from the various masters.¹² He had full command over the exoteric (*zāhir*) and the esoteric (*bātin*) sciences. He was an eminent saint and pivot of his time (*qutb-i waqf*).¹³ Apart from the one hundred and thirty-two books which we have mentioned above, he also authored several pamphlets (*rasā’il*), some of which are in Persian. He wrote a commentary on Khwaja Nizam’s work *Makhzan al-asrār*, under the caption *Ma’dan al-asrār*. He also left behind poetical collections, entitled *Qasîda-i fawāsil*, *Āyāt-i nazm* and a few other poems.¹⁴



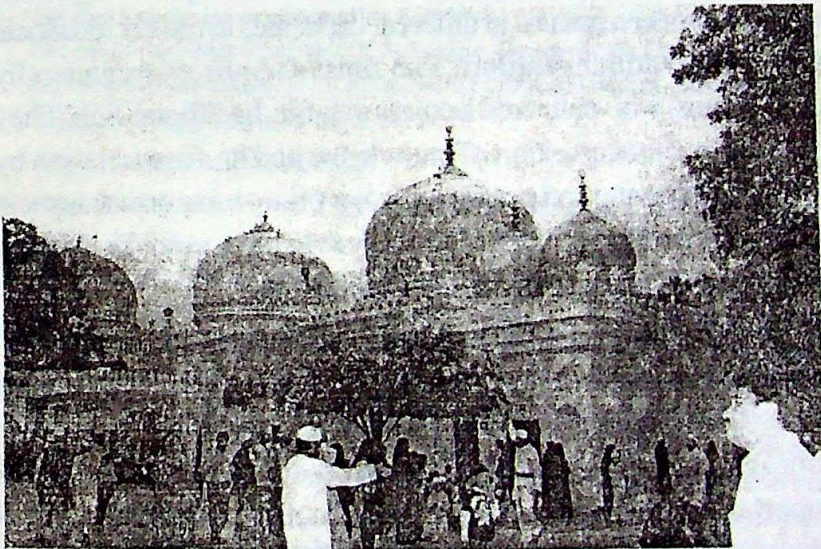
The tomb of 'Ayn al-Dīn Ganj al-'Ilm constructed by Mahmud Gawan at Bijapur

Apart from Ganj al-'Ilm, the other prominent Junaydi Sufis who settled in the Deccan were Shams al-Dīn Muhammad Lamaghani¹⁵ Junaydi¹⁶ (629-736/1231-1335), Shaykh Minhaj al-Dīn Tamīmī Ansarī Ahasanabadi¹⁷ (689-762/1290-1360), Shaykh Muhammad Rukn al-Dīn (670-781/1271-1380), son of Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Siraj al-Dīn, Shaykh Wajīh al-Dīn Sangani¹⁸, Shaykh 'Imad al-Dīn Ahmad Sangani¹⁹, and Shaykh Ibrahīm Sangani Junaydi Balhawī.

Shaykh Muhammad Rukn al-Dīn was a well-known Sufi of Gulbarga during the early Bahmani period and is popularly known as Shaykh Siraj al-Dīn Junaydi, which is in fact, the name of his father. He hailed from Baghdad, and his father migrated to Peshawar and was a rich man. Shaykh Muhammad Rukn al-Dīn gave up a mundane life and adopted the life of an ascetic. He migrated to Gulbarga during the Bahmani period and was respected by Ala al-Din Hasan Bahman Shah, the founder of the Bahmani kingdom. It was he who coroneted Ala al-Din and it became a tradition that his successors would place a coarse shirt, a girdle

and a turban made out of their headgear and give him blessings before the official coronation ceremony.

Connected to this family, three important documents are available. The original *wasiyatnama* of the saint is regarding the distribution of the *jagir* of Kodchi, which was given to him by Ala al-Din Hasan Bahman Shah. It is regarding the distribution of the *jagir* among his descendants. There are two other documents, one issued by the saint himself in the name of his grandson Shaykh Shibli, that is dated 776/1375, which relates to the trusteeship of two *chawar* of land from the *jagir* of Kodchi. The third document, under the seal of Asad Khan Bandah-i Alamgir, is regarding the reconfirmation of the *jagir* of Kodchi to the descendants of Shaykh Muhammad Rukn al-Din.



The shrine of Shaykh Muhammad Rukn al-Din Junaydi,
popularly known as Rawzah-i Shaykh, Gulbarga

His shrine at Gulbarga is popularly known as Rawza-i Shaykh, where Yusuf Adil Khan, the founder of the Adil Shahi Dynasty of Bijapur, constructed a huge gateway called Bab al-Dakhilah and the tombs over his shrine and the shrine of his descendants. Apart

from the leading Junaydi saints of the Deccan mentioned above, there were a large number of disciples, *khulafa*, companions, students and their descendants who worked in the Deccan and propagated the Junaydi doctrine.

The Junaydî Sufis are described in the scroll in various terms: wholesome (*sālih*), aware of God (*muttaqi*), calm and restrained (*halīm*), kind, honest, pious, righteous, straight-forward, ethically sound, religious and devout, which reflect their saintly character. Unlike Sufis of other Orders who tended to believe in ecstasy, rapture, longing and music, the Junaydîs believed in the sobriety of mind and adhered strictly to the commandments of the Qur'an and the *Hadīth*, according to the excerpts of Atwār. It can also be concluded that the Junaydîs were orthodox in their approach, as most of them were qāzis, muftis, 'alims and faqihs of high rank and seem to have served in different capacities in the ecclesiastical and judicial administration. The Junaydî Sufis were generally theologians, who delivered lectures in tafsir, hadīth and fiqh. They believed in the acquisition of knowledge and its dissemination by means of lecturing and penning down works on important aspects of Islamic theology.²⁰ They do not seem to have used music as an instrument to achieve nearness to the Divine.

The discovery of these two scrolls with notes from *Atwār al-abrār* is the first ever documentary evidence of the presence of Junaydî Sufis in India. These notes from Atwār also help us to conclude that apart from the Chishtîs, the Junaydîs were also an important component of Daulatabad-Khuldabad Muslim society immediately after the change of capital. The Junaydîs appeared to have maintained close and cordial relations with the ruling authority of their times and seem to have been willing participants in Muhammad bin Tughluq's project of attempting to establish a new urban Islamic center at Daulatabad. These and some of the instances cited above help us to assume that the Junaydî saints of

Delhi, Kada, Daulatabad, Gulbarga and Bijapur were not averse to association with the rulers, government jobs and grants.

References:

1. It is necessary to clarify that the Arabs were the pioneers of the art of historiography and were well known for memorizing the genealogies of their forefathers. This art later developed into recording the genealogies. See P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 28 and 243, 244, 387-392. The descendants of 'Ayn al-Dīn Ganj al-'Ilm seem to have continued this tradition and recorded the lineage of descent till the time of Shaykh Mustafa. I have also seen some scrolls in the family collection of Sayyid Muhammad Husaynī Gīsūdīrāz of Gulbarga and Sayyid Abu'l Fayz Minallah Husaynī of Bidar, which are still being updated from time to time.
2. *Shajara-i irādat wa ijāzat*, fol. 6.
3. He also had the honor of spending time in the company of eminent scholars like Malik as-Sādāt Sharf al-Dīn Bamahina, Shams al-Dīn Gāzrūnī, Shaykh Ziyā al-Dīn Rumī Zanjanī, Hajī Rūmī, Sa'īd Firishta and Badr al-Dīn Ghaznawī.
4. *Shajara-i irādat wa ijāzat*, fol. 6.
5. *Shajara-i irādat wa ijāzat*, fol. 6.
6. 'Muhammad Jamal Qiwan, Qiwan al- 'Aqa 'id, Urdu tr. by Nisar Ahmad Faruqī, pp. 49.
7. He migrated to Daulatabad most probably some time after 729/1329, after the change of capital. Ernst, discussing the change of capital, writes, "Sultan Muhammad Ibn Tughluq's aim in moving the Muslims to Daulatabad was not to depopulate Delhi. Only the Muslim elite were forced to move". He further writes, "Ibn Battuta's statements about the complete depopulation of the city were exaggerations". *Eternal Garden*, pp. 112-113. H.K. Sherwani, discussing the transfer of capital, writes that "Delhi still remained one of the two capitals of the empire with its vast Hindu population and a continuous influx of Muslim immigrants from beyond the north-western frontiers, which Daulatabad could not hope for". Referring to Bulaqi's *Matlub at-talibin*, he writes that the "epithet 'leading men of Delhi' is used". Again referring to Abdullah al-Makkī's *Zafar al-waih*, Sherwani writes, "Prominent inhabitants and able-bodied were asked to migrate". *The Bahmams of the Deccan*, pp. 18-19 and p. 39, n. 19. From the above discussion, it is obvious that Delhi was not as deserted as assumed by some, who state that even cats and dogs were not to be seen in Delhi. In fact, the above statements allow us to assert that Muhammad bin Tughluq, by planting the 'Ulama', the Sufis, the Qazīs, the

Muftis and the men of scholarship, most of whom were Chishtis and Junaydis, laid a firm foundation for the first Muslim urban center in the Deccan.

- 8 When Sultan Moiz al-Dîn Kaiqaband came to power in 686/1287, he made Kilokhedî near Ghayaspur as his headquarters, which developed fully into a town by the time of Jalal al-Dîn Khiljî and came to be known as Shar-i now, and maybe earlier known as Jahain. Amîr Hasan Sijzî, *Fawa'id al-fu'ad*, urdu tr. Khwaja Hasan Thanî Nizamî, p. 82.
- 9 According to H.H. Wilson, koss (kos) is a measure of distance varying, in different parts of India, i.e., from one to two miles. H.H. Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, p. 294.
- 10 *Shajara-i irâdat wa ijâzat*, fol.6. See also Muhammad Ibrahîm, *Rawzat al-awliya'-i Bijapur*, pp. 27-32, *Waqi'at*, pp. 102-106.
- 11 'Ayn al-Dîn Ganj al-'Ilm spent his time in the company of Shams al-Dîn Lamaghanî (Damaghanî) and received blessings (barakai) from Minhaj al-Dîn Tamîmî Ansarî. In 715/1316, while still young, he met Shaykh Shihab al-Dîn Muhammad Adhamî at district Jalur by which time he had learnt the entire Qur'an and few other books by heart. He met Shaykh Husayn Mu'min Hairulî near Delhi and learnt by heart some of his teachings (Nasa'ih). Apart from these men, he also met leading personalities of his time, like traveler Shaykh Shihab al-Dîn Sherwanî, Khwaja Ziya al-Dîn Khurasanî and Chajju Jawharî at Sagar-Bijapur, Sayyid Hydar Zahîr al-Dîn Tandhutî and Imam Khalidî in the district of Kansa,
12. *Shajara-i irâdat wa ijâzat*, fol. 9.
13. *Shajara-i irâdat wa ijâzat*, fol. 9.
14. *Shajara-i irâdat wa ijâzat*, fol. 9.
- 15 Lamaghan / Damagan is a village in the suburbs of Ghazna. *Shajara-i irâdat wa ijâzat*, fol. vii.
- 16 Mawlana Shams al-Dîn Muhammad Damaghanî was a pre-eminent scholar and a unique one. He studied the Qur'an under Shaykh Shams al-Dîn al-Khawarizmî and other scholars. He was a classmate of Shaykh Nizam al-Dîn Muhammad Badayunî and both studied under Shaykh Shams al-Dîn al-Khawarizmî. He migrated to Daulatabad during the times of Muhammad Shah Tughluq and remained there for a long time and taught some subjects to Shaykh 'Ayn al-Dîn Ganj al-'Ilm. Nuzhat al-khawatir, part II, p. 146, *Eternal Garden*, p. 98. Abdul Jabbar mentions that Shaykh Shams al-Dîn Muhammad Lamaghanî and Minhaj al-Dîn Tamîmî Ansarî taught some subjects to 'Ayn al-Dîn Ganj al-'Ilm. Bashîr al-Dîn Ahmad also writes that 'Ayn al-Dîn Ganj al-'Ilm studied under Lamaghanî and migrated to 'Aynabad (Sagar) in 737/1336 and finally settled at Bijapur in 773/1371, *Mahbub-i Zulminan*, vol. I, p. 139; *Waqi'at*, part II, pp 102-106.
- 17 Bashîr al-Dîn writes that he moved over to Gulbarga in 730/1329 and died

there in 754/1353 which is wrong. His shrine is a place of ziyara. Waq'at, part II, pp. 102-106, see also Nuzhat al-khawatir, part II, p 167; Mahbub-i zulminan, vol. I, p. 539. Ghulam Muhammad writes that he died in 745/1345 which is wrong. Siyar-i Makhdumi, pp. 267-268.

- 18 Elder brother of Shaykh Ibrahîm Sangani, disciple and khalifa of 'Ala' al-Dîn 'Alî Jewerî.
- 19 Shaykh Wajîh al-Dîn Sangani had two sons, Nasîr al-Dîn and 'Imad al-Dîn Ahmad. Imam Najm al-Dîn Muhammad Marqî at Daulatabad, and Imam Adhamî in the district of Jalur.
- 20 *Shajara-i irâdat wa ijâzat*, fol. 6-10.

INDIAN ARCHIVES AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE, HYDRABAD

MUGHAL DOCUMENTS - THE WAQAI NAWIS (SPY OR NEWS REPORTER) PRESERVED IN A.P. STATE ARCHIVES AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE, HYDERABAD

Zareena Parveen

Archives are the treasure house of the past material (documents). Sir Hilary Jenkinson defines that "Document" as a manuscript (hand written), type script, printed matter with any other material evidence, which forms part of it or annexed to it, Archives is the gold mine in which historian digs for the material for his narrative, to which the administrator turns for precedence for any action that was contemplated in the past.

In for any aspect of the history nothing can be more reliable than the documentary evidence. Hence the present day the historians have come to recognize the importance of rare and historical documents for reconstructing the history of the past. Due to the growing tendency to unearth original materials from the documents of State Archives and to bring lakhs of unknown handmade documents preserved in the repositories of State Archives to light many important publications are coming out now-a-days.

In this paper an attempt is made to highlight some Persian documents entitled "The *Waqai Nawis*" (spy or news-reporter).

It is one of the important written on hand-made paper manuscript which is available in Mughal series of documents pertaining to Aurangzeb's reign as preserved in State Archives and Research Institute. It would not be out of place to mention that I have the privilege to be the incharge of various categories of Persian and Urdu records including the category of Mughal documents(Paper Manuscripts) . Before discussing the documents of " The *Waqai Nawisi*", the brief introduction of Mughal Deccan and documents of State Archives would be appropriate.

The campaign of the expansion of Mughal actually started from the Deccan during the period of Emperor Akbar. By the end of the period of Aurangzeb the entire of Department Hyderabad and Manuscript Conservation Centre, Deccan (South India) under the control of Aurangzeb . When He ascended the throne on 25th July, 1658 A.D. he was busy in solving many of the internal problems of half of his reign in North India.

According to Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Aurangzeb wanted to see and check matters and activities of the Deccan particularly to keep a control on his rebel son Sultan Muhamamd Akbar with Sambaji, Bijapur and Golconda rulers. He came to Deccan and took all the matters and activities in his own hand. Aurangzeb conquered Bijapur after a tug of war for six months on 12th September, 1686 A.D. and it became the 5th Suba of Aurangzeb or Mughal Empire . The same time Sikandar Adil Shah was arrested and sent to Daulatabad,

Aurangzeb then conquered Golconda Kingdom on 21st September, 1687 after 9 months war. Qutb Shahi of Golconda was annexed to the Mughal Empire and its became as a sixth suba of the Deccan, i.e. Daulatabad, Telangana, Khandesh, Berar, Bijapur and Golconda.

So far as the Deccan Suba is concerned, it had a special features beside its diverse political problems and geographical and local

conditions. It was distinguished for its vastness, the entire suba which was quite large in extent, had four to six subordinate provinces. Hence it naturally required an army of officers to administer the Deccan Suba and its subordinate provinces.

Aurangzeb spent about thirteen years as a Subedar of the Deccan during the reign of Shah Jahan, owing to that he had vast practical experience for solving the complicated matters and situations of Deccan. He had also deputed some suitable and responsible officials like Subedar, Peshkar, Mansabdar, Daroghas, Mushrif, Qazi etc.

The Mughal documents, Paper Manuscripts, are one of the very important categories of documents preserved in State Archives. These documents pertain to the reigns of Shah Jahan (1628-1658) and Aurangzeb (1658-1707). The number of documents pertaining to Shah Jahan's reign is about 5,000 whereas the documents pertaining to the reign of Aurangzeb are more than 1,50,000. No other State Archives of the country, (even the National Archives of India, New Delhi possesses in its custody 15,000 documents i.e. Inyat Jung Collection from 1680-1724 in Shikasta script. Besides this the Rajasthan State Archives preserves 300 original Farman and Sanads and 1700 copies of the originals,) preserves such huge quantum of documents pertaining to the Mughal period.

For these Mughal documents written in handmade paper (manuscript) used strong fabric of the average size of 8 X 4 1/2". This is the reason that the Mughal documents are in good condition till today. The documents are written in Persian language in shikasta script, cursive style of writing. These documents show a graphic picture to mansabdari system, military administration and revenue administration of the Mughal's Deccan. These documents have the links to each other and they are in chronological order i.e. datewise, monthwise and regional year wise. There are various

types of documents in this category of documents such as Farman (Royal Orders of the Emperor), Nishan (Orders of a member of the royal family), Yaddasht-i-Ahkam-i-Muqaddas (Memorandum containing imperial orders), Parwana or Parwancha (Orders issued by higher authorities) Izafa mansab, Kami-i-Mansab, Siyaha-Huzur (Proceedings of the provincial Court), Roznamcha-i-Waqai (Daily news report), Qabzul Wasil (Pay bill), Arz-o-Chihra (Descriptive roll of Horse and personnel) etc.

These documents became a part of treasure house of Archives in a very interesting manner. One Accountant General of Ex-Hyderabad, Syed Muhib Uddin, went to Aurangabad in the year 1916 for an inspection purpose, he discovered that a large number of old documents were dumped in one of the halls in the Fort of Arak in Aurangabad (Aurangabad was the headquarter of Mughals) and Subadari was housed). He took keen interest in the preservation of old and historical paper documents and reported to Daftar-i-Diwani. (Archives)

Most of the eminent historians says that the Mughal Government was a paper Government it means that every action was recorded on the paper.

The system of *Waqai Nawisi* was an very important functioning in the Mughal administrative system. Abul Fazal has mentioned in *Ain-i-Akbari* the duties of the *waqai nawis* appointed to record the happenings at the court. As per Abul Fazal's statement fourteen *Waqai nawis* were employed to record in their diaries whatever the Emperor said or did and whatever was brought to his notice by the heads of departments. The Mir Bakhshi, received news reports sent by the *waqai nawis* from different provinces and put them before the Emperor. The Emperor issued orders on the reports of the *waqai nawis* if necessary.

In the absence of an official agency for transmitting news from the provinces to the central government, it was rather impossible

to administer a large empire. The Mughal Emperor Akbar had the realization of the significance of the system of *waqia nawisi*. So he appointed a *waqia nawis* in each suba in about 1586 when he introduced a uniform pattern of provincial administration in his twelve subas.¹

Jahangir the Mughal Emperor in Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri has mentioned that the news reporters performed their duties efficiently in the time of Akbar and ordinary events and occurrences were reported to Akbar even from distant places. The contemporary records i.e. the accounts of foreign travellers, letters of Prince Aurangzeb etc., reveal that the system of news reporting worked effectively in the times of Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

Bernier, one of the travellers who visited India, has stated that during the reign of Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, to improve the system, a new set of reporters called *Sawanih nigar* or *Khufia nawis* were appointed when it was found that the *Waqia nawis* was coming into clash with provincial authorities as he had to transmit the reports to the central government through provincial authorities and as such he was unable to submit correct and true reports. The *Sawanih nigar* or *Khufia nawis* did not disclose their identity and transmitted news directly to the Emperor without any intermediary. They were intended to report about the activities of the government functionaries without fear or favour and so as to serve as spies on the *Waqai nawis*. *Sawanih nigar* is well comparable to the modern system of intelligence agencies. Muhammad Kazim, the official historian of Aurangzeb had presented a detailed observation, about the working of the parallel system of the *Waqai nawis* and the *Sawanih nigar* in *Alamgir Nama*.

The provincial *Waqai nawis* had his agents in each *sarkar* and *pargana* for furnishing him with the reports of the important happenings of those places. On the basis of the reports he received

from his agents he used to prepare his selected newsletter. In this connection the Manuscript *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* furnished the following information.

"In the office of the *Subadar*, the *Diwan*, the *faujdar* of the environs of the provincial capital, the court of justice, the *kotwal-i-chabutra* the *waqai nawis* stationed his clerks, who brought to him every evening a record of what had occurred and happened there during the day".²

Every (unit of) army had its own *Waqia nawis*. The post of *Waqai nawis* and that of *Bakhshi* of the army were usually combined in one and the same person. He used to furnish his reports to the *mir bakhshi* to be read out in the imperial court. The reports sent every day by the provincial *waqai nawis* to an officer of the court designated the *darogha-i-dak-chauki* (superintendent of posts and intelligence) were delivered sealed report to the *Mir Bakhshi* for submission to the Emperor in the night Weekly".³

A large number of *Waqai* in the form of *Roznamchas* (daily news) were preserved in the custody of the Archives. They throw light on the political, economic and administrative condition of the Deccan in the seventeenth century. These *Waqai* pertain to the early period of Aurangzeb's reign, i.e., ranging from 1661 to 1672 A.D. relating to fourteen different places namely, Hyderabad, Aurangabad, Daulatabad, Ramgir, Berar, Parenda, Ahmednagar, Kalyan, Fathabad, (Dharur), Supa, Baglana, Udgir, Junnar and Galna. They cover a variety of subjects, such as visits of *Wakil*, envoys, and traders from different countries and the arrangements about their *Dastak* (safe-conduct) made by the authorities concerned. They also deal with the movements of troops in the Deccan and the dispatching of auxiliary forces to disturbed areas with supplies of sacks of gunpowder, rockets and cannon-balls.

Other important matters mentioned in the *Waqai* are: accounts of the daily collection at the cashier's office; remittances of money

to the Imperial treasury and its transfer from one place to another under an escort of troops; judicial proceedings in the court of justice, assignments of *jagirs* to the *Mansabdars*, their promotions, demotions, and transfers; dismissals and reinstallments of officials, dispatch of confidential letters, bags, baskets of mangoes and other fruits, conferment of robes of honour, presentation of gifts and *Peshkash*; verification of troops, their transfers and postings; branding of horses; purchase of elephants; farming of diamond mines; archery and shooting tests; escheat of the properties of the deceased *Mansabdars*; exchange rates of coins prevalent in the Deccan; buying and selling rates of gold, silver and other commodities in the different markets and the like.

Among the subjects of historical importance dealt in the thousands of *Waqai*, some of the following *Waqai* may be discussed.

1. *Waqai* dated 2nd Shaban, 1071 A.H. 23rd March, 1661 A.D. (Saturday) 3rd regnal year, Sl. No.900, Daily Report of occurrences at Sarkar Ramgir, stating that Nasrullah came to the office and conducted the proceedings of the Court. Saiyid Husain, Zaladar of the fort of Ramgir came. Saiyid Jamal was posted with the arm for conducting tirandazi.

1. Test in tirandazi as follows : 97 persons; First:54; Second:35; Third: 7: *zaban*: 1.
2. Sadi Somari: 47 persons; First:26; Second: 18; third: 3
3. Sadi Ghanshan: 49 persons: First:27; Second:17; Third:4; *Zabtin*:
4. From Sadi Bhiknaris group one person.

Saiyid Jamal conducted other test in archery for 500 persons of Baksar, who were posted at the fort of Ramgir. Some failed and 91 persons from the group of Bhiknari Hazari were dismissed for causing disturbance. These persons did not appear for test in

archery as they wished for conducting their test separately. They have not corrected their *Qubz* and wished for separating their *Qubz*. Submitted for orders. The daily tahsil at the fida khana of sarkar Ramgir amounted to 77 hun and 4 % annas, Saiyid Husain, leader of Ramgir fell ill with fever. ⁴

2. *Waqai* dated 14th Ziqada; 1071 A.H./1st July, 1661 A.D.(Tuesday) 4th Regnal years, Sl. No.315, Report of daily occurrences at the fort of Fathabad, alias Dharur, stating that two *Banjaras - Pitra and Parma*, from the group of *Tulsi of Mauza Hankuni*, came to the pargana Bir and indecently assaulted one woman named Lani. She represented her case to Muftakhar Khan. The Khan called the two banjaras and investigated the matter. On finding them guilty of the crime he punished them with 100 strokes of hunter and kept them under arrest for a few days.⁵

3. *Waqai* dated: 2nd Mutharram, 1072 H., 18th August, 1661 A.D.,(Sunday), 4th Regnal year, SL No. 449 Abdullah Outb Shah sent a letter and twenty-five rolls of chintz to Sayyid Iliyas, a servant of Adil Shah II, and two trays of fruits to Muhammad Muqim, the Wakil of Shah of Persia.

Mir Kamal, Abdullah Qutb Shah's servant, presented fourteen volumes of manuscripts to him and in return received a robe of honour.⁶

4. *Waqai* dated: 3rd Muharram, 1072 H., 19th August, 1661 A.D., (Monday), 4th Regnal year, SL No. 464. It is reported that Abdullah Qutb Shah dispatched fifty horses and three hundred musketeers to Koilkonda, on the border of Bijapur.

The *Hawaladari* of Welconda dispatched three hundred rockets and one hundred and fifty cannon-ball to the Golconda fort.

The mother of Abdulla Qutb Shah sent a basket of fruits to Ali Adil Shah II. ⁷

5. *Waqai* dated: 6th Muharram, 1072 H., 22nd August, 1661

A.D., (Thursday, 4th Regnal year, SL No. 476. Abdullah Qutb Shah bestowed the customary mourning robes, for the tenth of Muharram, on Mir Ahmad, his son-in-law, Mir Muqim, the Persian envoy, Sayyid Muzaffar, and others.

The Qiladar of Bhongir dispatched ten sacks of gun-powder and two hundred and fifty rockets to the Golconda fort. Abdullah Qutb Shah and his mother also bestowed the customary robes of mourning on Riza Qutb for the tenth of Muharram.⁸

6. *Waqai* dated: 8th Muharram, 1072 H., 24th August, 1661 A.D., (Saturday, 4th Regnal year, SL No. 480. The Dutch and the Danes, captured the ship belonging to Malik Beg at Chicacole. Qutb-ul-Mulk ordered Suri Rao, the *Hawaladar* of the Masulipatam port, to demand to the Dutch captain for immediate release of the ship. Suri Rao excused himself saying that he had no influence on the Dutch who were subject to their own authority, and further alleged that Hyder, the Faujdar was in league with the Dutch. Were the Emperor to issue orders to the port authorities of Bengal and Surat, the Dutch captain would be compelled to release the ship and its cargo, and not otherwise.⁹

7. *Waqai* dated: 10th Muharram, 1072 H., 26th August, 1661 A.D., (Monday, 4th Regnal year, SL No. 487. On the tenth of Muharram while a Tabul and Shadda were being carried in procession through the streets, the servants of the Khatib, staying in the house adjoining to the palace of Qutb-ul-Mulk in the Chauk, threw stones on the Tabul. Hakim Nizamuddin Ahmad, on behalf of Qutb-ul-Mulk, protested and asked that the servants of the Khatib should be warned against committing acts of sacrilege in the future, and also against the Khatib's frequent visits to Abdul Jabbar, the servant of Hakim Nizamuddin Ahmad. The Khatib was accordingly called and given necessary warning.¹⁰

8. *Waqai* dated: 14th Muharram, 1072 H., 30th August, 1661 A.D., (Friday, 4th Regnal year, SL No. 492. From Masulipatam a

letter was received from Mir Qasiro of Khassa-i-Sharifa, reporting the arrival of the vessel Cholia, previously under the command of Khan Khanan, from the port of Rakhang (Arakari). This letter also brought the news of the assassination of Prince Shuja, arrest of his sons and daughters by the Raja of Arakan and slaying of the sisters by their brothers to save their good name. These tragic happenings were already reported to the Emperor by Bakhshi ul Mamalik, Amin Khan.¹¹

9. *Waqai* dated: 26th Muharram, 1072 H., 6th August, 1661 A.D., (Friday, 4th Regnal year, SL No. 497. Qutb-ul-Mulk, had been suffering with tooth ache and sore throat, and after a temporary relief, was again confined to bed with the recurrence of the same complaint.¹²

10. *Waqai* dated: 22nd Muharram, 1072 H., 7th September, 1661 A.D., (Saturday), 4th Regnal year, SL No. 509. Ali Adil Shah II wrote to his Wakil Muhammad Ali that Siddi Jauhar was hostile to him and Qutb-ul-Mulk must be informed of this, and he should be requested that the courier of Siddi Jauhar be sent away from Hyderabad. Further, Riza Qulis must also be intimated to keep an eye on the courier of Siddi Jauhar. Muhammad Ali conveyed this message to Hakim Nizamuddin who conferred with Qutb-ul-Mulk about this matter. Later on he sent for Muhammad Ali through Ibrahim Beg to apprise him of the result of his consultation with Qutb-ul-Mulk.

What transpired between Hakim Nizamuddin and Muhammad Ali on this occasion is not known. The latter was received with usual courtesy and was offered betel leaf before his departure.¹³

11. *Waqai* dated: 27th Muharram, 1072 H., 12th September, 1661 A.D., (Thursday), 4th Regnal year, SL No. 521. The agent of Umdat-ul-Mulk Jafar Khan and the agent of Lashkar Khan purchased three elephants from the dealer for nine hundred huns and rupees six thousand, seven hundred and ten at the

following rates :

One tusker at 900 huns and two female.

Elephants, one at (Rs.) 4275 and the other at (Rs.) 2435.¹⁴

12. *Waqai* dated: 14th Safar, 1072 H., 29th September, 1661 A.D., (Sunday), 4th Regnal year, SL No. 565. To bring about closer personal relationship, Qutb-ul-Mulk is desirous of marrying his daughter to Ali Adil II, and what transpires in this connection shall be reported later.¹⁵

13. *Waqai* dated: 15th Safar, 1072 H., 30th September, 1661 A.D., (Monday), 4th Regnal year, SL No. 568. Muhammad Muqim, the Wakil of the Shah of Persia, sent twenty five trays of fruits from Persia to Qutb-ul-Mulk.

Qutb-ul-Mulk ordered Ibrahim Beg, the Sar-Naubat to send for Muhammad Muqim who was entertained in the Hawel's at Hyderabad (baiz).¹⁶

14. *Waqai* dated: 12th Rabi-I, 1072 H., 25th October, 1661 A.D., (Friday), 4th Regnal year, Qutb-ul-Mulk dispatched a sealed parcel of fruits to his daughter through the writer of the news.¹⁷

15. *Waqai* dated: 14th Jamadi-I, 1072 H., / 25th January, 1662 A.D., (Saturday) 4th Regnal year, Sl. No. 31, (Selected *Waqai* of the Deccan by Yusuf Hussain, 1953, Central Record Office, p. 11,) according to Qutb Shahi custom, Qutb-ul-Mulk performed his annual bath at the confluence of the two rivers near Golconda.

Muhammad Husain the Mutasaddi of the Supply and Store Department left for the port of Masulipatam and Qutb-ul-Mulk dispatched 50 Sawars and 100 Matchlockmen to the Kaulas fort.¹⁸

16. *Waqai* dated: 15th Jamadi-II, 1072 H., 26th January, 1662 A.D., (Sunday), 4th Regnal year, Chicacole, presented two eunuchs, two parti coloured horses and four deer to Qutb-ul-Mulk.

Muhammad Qasim, the Qiladar of Kaulas was presented by Mir Ahmad to Qutb-ul- Mulk. He had the honour of offering a horse of Turkish breed to the Sultan who bestowed upon him a robe of honour.¹⁹

17. *Waqai* dated: 19th Rajab, 1072 H., 8th February, 1662 A.D., (Friday), 4th Regnal year, Qutb-ul- Mulk addressed a letter to his daughter which was forwarded to Item ad Khan for dispatch.

Qutb-ul-Mulk summoned Elam Nair, the Zamindar of Bhongir, who was presented to the Sultan by Muhammad Amin, Qiladar of the Golconda fort. He offered three hundred huns to Qutb-ul-Mulk, who posted him to remain with Muhammad Amin.

Qutbu-ul-Mulk sent three sealed boxes to his daughter which were forwarded through couriers with a permit for Shahjahanabad.²⁰

18. *Waqai* dated: 12th Ramazan, 1073 H., 21st April, 1662 A.D., (Monday), 4th Regnal year, Bahman Reddy, a servant of Sultan Abdulla Qutb Shah, attached to Mir Ahmad, disclosed to Mulla Abdus Samad that Narayan, Mir Ahmad's servant, had accepted a bribe of 24,000 huns from him. Mir Ahmad, on receiving orders from the Sultan for the recovery of this amount from Narayan and also for his dismissal, recovered and presented the said amount to the Sultan who bestowed a robe of honour on Narayan and reinstated him in his post.²¹

19. *Waqai* dated: 17th Ramazan, 1073 H., 26th April, 1662 A.D., (Saturday), 4th Regnal year, SL No.99. p. 14. A tusker was purchased from All Khan, the dealer, by the agent of Raja Amar Singh for (Rs.) 5000.

Qutb-ul-Mulk sent a robe of honour and a jewel necklace to Riza Quli for the Zamindar of Maheshwar under the Camatic jurisdiction.²²

20. *Waqai* dated: 18th Ramazan, 1073 H., 27th April, 1662

A.D.,(Sunday), 4th Regnal year, SL No.108 pp.14 Haji Muhammad Sadiq, in the service of the Amir -ul Umara, on a visit to Hyderabad to make purchases, was presented;by Mir Ahmad to Qutb-ul-Mulk,; who bestowed a robe of honour on him.²³

21. *Waqai* dated: 25th Ramazan, 1073 H., 4rh May, 1662 A.D., 5th Regnal year, The mother of Qutb-ul-Mulk sent a robe of honour and four baskets of mangoes to Riza Quli, the Faujdar of Carnatic, and Qutb-ul-Mulk sent two baskets of mangoes to Ali Adil Shah II.

The Zamindar of the Udgir fort presented a pair of bangles set with gems and a ruby ring through Husaini, the Qiladar, to Qutb-ul-Mulk.²⁴

22. *Waqaid* dated: 6th Shawwal, 1073 H., 15th May, 1662 A.D., (Thursday), 4th Regnal year, Qutb-ul-Mulk sent five robes of honour to Mahmud Beg, the Hawaldar, for the Zamindars of Ellore and Rajahmundry.²⁵

23. The *Waqai* dated: 5th Shawwal, 1073 H., 18th April, 1662 A.D., 5th Regnal year SL No. 232 The daily news reporter of the Fort of Datilatabad Sarkar stating that Aqidat Khan held his Court, which was attended by Mutasaddis of the Fort of Mahakot. As per the dastak of Amanat Khan, (Rs.) 40,000 huns., were sent to the treasury of Aurangabad from Daulatabad; and Shaikh Fathullah Kotwal on transfer of Devki Nandan, Kotwal came from the Army.²⁶

24. *Waqai* dated: 9th Shawwal, 1073, H., 18th May, 1662 A.D.,(Sunday), 5th Regnal year, SL No. 25. Muhammad Quli, the Qiladar of Winkunda, sent three thousand huns, two silver head-ornaments for horses and one silver jug-stand to Sayyid Muzaffar to be presented to Abdulla Qutb Shah.

Anant Reddy, accompanied by Mulla Abdus Sauiad, had the honour of presenting 500 huns to Abdulla Qutb Shah who favoured him with a robe of honour, a jewelled aigrette (turra) a sword and

a horse. 27

25. *Waqai* dated: 10th Shawwal, 1073, H., 19th May, 1662 A.D., (Monday), 5th Regnal year, SL No. 274. Eight pearls were sent as a present to Ali Adil II by Qutb-ul-Mulk through Venkanna, the messenger of Bahlul, a servant of Ali Adil Shah II.

Qutb-ul-Mulk favoured Abdul Ali, the Silahdar with a robe of honour on his appointment by him as the Qiladar of Koilkonda. 28

26 *Waqai* dated 15th Shawwal 1073 H. 24th May, 1662 A.D. (Saturday) 5th Regnal Sl. No. 319, Report of daily occurrences at the thana of Supa stating that : Rai Bakhan went with his jamiyat, and returned in the evening; Ghalib Khan, with his jamiyat entered the qasaba of Supa and left on the night of 17th instant; since Abdullah Khan Shirazi and Sarfaraz Khan were on friendly terms, the latter invited the former and entertained him and presented him 5 titans of cloth etc; Kishan Singh, went to Poona and Sarfaraz Khan entertained Chatr Bhoj Chauhan. 29

27. *Waqai* dated 4th Ziqada, 1073 H. 11th June, 1662, (Wednesday), 5th Regnal year SL No. 455, The court of justice was held today. On the recommendation of Amanat Khan, the Diwan of the Deccan, and Todar Mal, the Diwan of the Buyutat, provisions were stored in the fort by the Imperial orders, but owing to the insufficiency of storage a great quantity of grain had deteriorated especially the pulses; and wheat which remained in good condition was ordered to be supplied to the garrison of the fort on a reduced price, which should be deducted from their salaries. 30

28. *Waqai* dated 19th Ziqada, 1073 H/28th June, 1662, (Thursday), 5th Regnal year SL No., 559, Intern AM Khan went to the Mahmudi garden outside the town and returned to the fort in the evening. In the Village of Lohara, a band of robbers raided the land of a cultivator, named Ambaji, who killed one of the robbers with his sword. This incident was reported by the Shiqdar to

Ihtemam Khan who ordered that the dead body of the robber should be hung on a tree and exposed to public view.

Mir Khan, a servant of Mahmud Khan, on his way to Khairla Pargana, arrived from Hyderabad with a tusker which was worth 1500 huns.³¹

29. *Waqai* dated 9th Rabi-H, 1073 H/11th November, 1662, A.D.(Tuesday), 5th Regnal year Sl. No. 1450, It was learnt, from the shroffs, named Naroji and Trimbak, that Shroffs, Bhanji, Sudappa etc., of Udgir, while returning from the Deglur weekly-fair, had been robbed of their money, amounting to nearly (Rs.) 1200 near Rawangaon, in the Kharka Pargana. The case was under investigation.

Mashhadi, a servant of Asalat Khan of good conduct from Haji Muhammad Naseer, a chamberlain, arrived from Hyderabad, on his way to Shahjahanabad, after completing the purchases of eunuchs at Masulipatam, and had with him twelve carts, loaded with household goods, thirty bullocks, carrying the rest of his luggage, fourteen eunuchs, ten slaves and one servant.³²

30. *Waqai* dated 10th Rabi-II, 1073 H. 12th November, 1662, A.D.(Wednesday), 5th Regnal year, Sukhdeo, Tahwildar of the fort, had previously reported the theft of copper token-coins of Barid-Shahi dynasty, weighing seven maunds and twenty seers Shahjahani, stores in the fort, and in this connection, it was discovered that thefts were committed, from time to time, by Narsiyya, son of Potaji blacksmith of Khassa-i-Sharifa, who used stealthily to open the store room with a false key, without breaking the seal, and to sell the metal to dealers at Udgir. The dealers themselves admitted this transaction. All persons involved in the theft were being kept under custody in the prison of the fort and orders of the authorities were awaited.

Dattaji, a Brahman of Udgir, was in the habit of frequently slandering people and in the end his calumnies had so enraged the

ryots and the Mutasaddis that they shaved the hair off his head and blackened his face and paraded him a round the town. 33

The modus operandi, I am confident that this article will be benefited to scholarly world particularly who work on bygone Medieval Deccan History of Mughals.

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POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE MEDIEVAL DECCAN AS REFLECTED IN MUNTAKHAB-UI-LUBAB AND TARIKH-I-DILKASHA

Sayed Dawood Ashraf

There are many Persian manuscripts which furnish valuable information on political, illustrative and socio-Cultural aspects of the Mughal period. Some important manuscripts such as Akbar Nama, Ain-i-Akbari, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Badsha Nama, Alamgir Nama, Maasir-i-Alamgiri, Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Tarikh-i-Dilkasha, Mirat-i-Ahmfedi, Nigar Nama-i-Munshi supply useful material on the above mentioned aspects of the Mughal rule. The manuscript Muntakhab-ul-Lubab provides authentic information on political history and Tarikh-i-Dilkasha supplies economic history of the Mughal Deccan during the period of Aurangzeb's rule.

Muntakhab-ul-Lubab is one of the standard histories of the Mughal era. Khafi Khan compiled this manuscript. He has covered the history of the Mughal period for nearly 200 years i.e. from 1526 A.D. when Babur founded the Mughal empire in India to the accession of Muhammed Shah in 1719 A.D. But the part of Muntakhab-ul-Lubab pertaining to the period of Aurangzeb is comprehensive and accurate as Khafi Khan was a contemporary of Aurangzeb.

As stated above that Khafi Khan was a contemporary of

Aurangzeb, it is generally believed that he compiled the account of Aurangzeb's period during Aurangzeb's life time. Even Professor Dowson asserts that Khafi Khan compiled the account of the reign of Aurangzeb during his life time itself and kept it suppressed. But there are strong internal evidences in the book itself which prove that it was compiled after the death of Aurangzeb contrary to general belief.

Aurangzeb came to the throne on 21st July, 1658 A.D. As his attention was engaged in North India during the first half of his reign, he left the Deccan to his subadars. There were only a few successes but no decisive results were achieved by the Mughals in the Deccan during the first half of Aurangzeb's rule. When Bahadur Khan, the subadar of the Deccan left for court in early September 1677 A.D. during the nineteenth year of Aurangzeb's reign, the Mughal gains were the forts and districts of Parenda in 1660 A.D., Sholapur in July, 1668 A.D., Naldurg in May, 1677 A.D. and Kulbarga in July 1677 A.D. Under these circumstances Aurangzeb intended to supervise himself the / military expeditions in the Deccan. His main intention and aim was to watch and check the activities of his rebel son Sultan Muhammad Akbar, Sambhaji, the Maratha-king and the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda.

The rebellion of Aurangzeb's son had a disturbing effect deranging Aurangzeb's plans and strategies in the Deccan. He had to spend four years in an unsuccessful attempt to siege the rebel prince.

Khafi Khan has mentioned the detailed account of the unsuccessful career of Prince Sultan Muhammad Akbar. According to Khafi Khan Prince Akbar was the guest of Sambhaji in the Deccan but he was not satisfied with the hospitality given to him and the arrangements made for his men. Prince Akbar was so disgusted that he decided to go to Iran. As per his plan he left for Iran but the ship in which he was travelling reached Musqat due

to unfavorable weather. He was arrested there. When Shah Suleman, the ruler of Iran got the information he sent the strict orders to send Prince Akbar with special arrangements. The prince was sent to Iran with respect and honour. He was accorded a warm welcome in Iran and Shah Suleman issued orders for making grand hospitality arrangements for the royal guest. Prince Akbar stayed in Iran during the period of Shah Suleman and Sultan Husain, the rulers of Iran. He had all comforts and luxuries there but he failed in his attempts to get military aid and reinforcement from Iran to invade the Mughal India. On his request he was permitted to stay in Khurasan where he died during the last years of Aurangzeb's rule.

Bijapur was captured by the Mughals and the ruler of Bijapur Sikandar Adil Shah was arrested and sent to Dulatabad. After the fall of Bijapur the Mughals paid full attention to the capture of Golconda kingdom. As Khafi Khan was the resident of Hyderabad we find the detailed account of the siege of Golconda fort and the Qutb Shahi Hyderabad. Khafi Khan writes that the siege of Golconda fort continued for a long-period. During the course of the long siege of the fort a majority of Abul Hasan's nobles had joined hands with the Mughals tempted by attractive awards, titles and honours. A stage came when Abul Hasan was left with two nobles Abdur Raazzaq Lari and Abdullah Khan Panni. Soon Abdullah Khan also deserted his master falling prey to the Mughal conspiracy. Lari stood alone, undeterred by the adverse circumstances." He continued his fight against the invaders demonstrating his unflinching loyalty to Abul Hasan. The defection of Abdullal Khan Panni opened the gate for the Mughal military commanders. Their entry into the fort evoked around victory celebration. As soon as Lari witnessed this, he mounted a horse with a sword in one hand and shield in the other and galloped to the entrance of the fort with a dozen companions. The Mughal soldiers were storming into the fort in huge numbers. Lari confronted

the surging army with great courage and determination brandishing his sword and stopped the advance of the Mughals for a while. The matchless gallantry shown by Lari was incredible. He was making continuous strikes on the enemy shouting "my life is for Abul Hasan". He had deep multiple injuries caused by swords and spears, so much so he looked like a pool of blood. His face had as many as twelve wounds. Finally, his strength to continue the fight gave way and he lost control of his horse. His horse which was heavily wounded carried him to Nagina Bagh and stopped under an old tree where Lari was unconscious till the next day. He was medically treated. Aurangzeb on knowing the loyalty and bravery of Lari told Ruhullah Khan "one more Abdur Razzaq Lari with Abul Hasan would have delayed the fall of the fort for another eight months". Aurangzeb gave a dignified treatment to the fallen hero and expressed the desire to induct to the ranks of the Mughal army. After initial hesitation and reluctance Lari accepted the offer made by Aurangzeb. But he was not happy with the new alignment and was totally out of ease with the Mughal service. Ultimately he gave up the Mughal service and went back to his native country, Iran. Khafi Khan concluded his description on Lari with the following observation.

"No other noble of Hyderabad lived a life of such dignity and honour as that of Abdul Razzaq Lari."

The Mughal had series of success in the year 1688 - 89 A.D. The Mughal armies marched east and south to take the possessions of the forts and territories of Bijapur and Golconda which were occupied by Marathas. But in the early stages of the campaign, the troops of Sambhaji plundered the Mughal lands stretching from Aurangabad to Burhanpur region and sacked several cities.

The author of Muntakhab-ul-Lubab mentions that Muqarrab Khah alias Shaik Nizam Hyderabad was posted at Kolhapur to reprimand Sambhaji. He humbled Sambhaji and his soldiers

through a surprise attack at Sangameshwar and held them. Sambhaji was executed.

While wide spread clashes were going on between the Mughals and Marathas, dissensions cropped up in the Maratha ranks. Rivalry for power and mutual animosity developed between Santa and Dhannaji, the two frontline Maratha warriors. Santa was murdered by his enemies.

The last years of Aurangzeb's rule in the Deccan is the story of continuous confrontation between the Mughals and the Marathas, the detailed account of which has been given in Muntakhab-ul-Lubab. Khafi Kahn has furnished information about the attack of the Maratha chief at Nadurbar, confrontation with the Marathas and defeat of the Mughals, the activity of Ram Raja (Raja Ram), plunder of Ram Raja, Ram Raja's demise and capture of many forts by the Mughals in the different region of the Deccan.

Tarikh-i-Dilkasha is a very valuable Persian manuscript which interalia furnishes important information about the economic conditions of the Mughal Deccan during different years of Aurangzeb's rule. Bhim Sen, the author of Tarikh-i-Dilkasha was also a contemporary of Aurangzeb. Though Bhim Sen belonged to Uttar Pradesh, he was in the Deccan throughout his service. He held minor but important posts in the Mughal government or in the service of the Mughal nobles posted in the Deccan. After retirement he compiled his memories in Persian and gave the title of Tarikh-i-Dilkasha to his manuscript. He was present in the Mughal camp for most of the time and he had access to high officials. Therefore it was possible for him to write or record what he saw and heard during his period. Bhim Sen is very accurate in his observation and very correct in narration of events. Tarkh-i-Dilkasha has two outstanding qualities. It is free from the defects of official histories. It contains the narrations of socio-economic conditions of the Mughal Deccan. Unlike the prose of the official

histories the prose of Bhim Sen is simple and lucid and he has avoided the indirect expression.

The material supplied in *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha* is very valuable and useful for the study of the economic conditions of the Deccan during Aurangzeb's reign. Bhim Sen has presented the bright picture of the prosperous life of the people of the Deccan in the early years of Aurangzeb. But due to constant warfare, famines and failure of rains the economic conditions gradually became from bad to worse. Bhim Sen while narrating the scarcity of food grains has quoted the rates of food grains in the Deccan during the different regnal years of Aurangzeb. ,

When Aurangzeb was appointed as the subadar of the Deccan for the second time in 1658 A.D. Murshid Quli Khan was sent along with him as the diwan of Balaghat. After a period of three years Murshid Quli Khan was made the diwan of the entire Deccan when Payanghat was added to his charge. The period of Murshid Quli Khan as the diwan of the Mughal Deccan is considered very important as far as the land revenue reforms are concerned. The reforms were introduced just before the beginning of Aurangzeb's rule.

There was no revenue system at all in the Deccan before the reforms of Murshid Quli Khan came into operation. Within a short period after the introduction of land revenue system of Murshid Quli Khan, the conditions of agriculture really improved and land revenue increased considerably in the Deccan. This is confirmed by the following account of Bhim Sen of 1658 A.D.

"The region (Aurangabad) is very thickly populated and not a single piece of land was to be found without cultivation. The price of grains like wheat and pulses was too neem man ($2\frac{1}{2}$ maund) per rupee; jawar and bajra three neem man (3 Vi maund) per rupee; the black sugar at two rupees per maund; four seers of ghee for one rupee and the price of a ashrafi was sixteen rupees."

Bhim Sen mentions in detail the prosperous and happy life led

by the people of the Mughal Deccan during 1659 - 60 A.D. He writes "Amir-ul-Umara (Shaista Khan, the subadar of the Deccan) remained in Poona only and tried to bring out a state of peace and prosperity in that area with complete satisfaction when grain became extremely cheap. Wheat was available at two shahjahani maunds for one rupee. Prices of pulses and barley can be judged accordingly. In the territory of Khandesh, Berar and Baglana, the armies and people had double the above facilities. Fodder did not cost more than three rupees and in this way a rider could pull on very well by having an Arabic horse with all its requirements and his family. And almost all of them were in a happy position to spend lavishly on the marriage ceremonies as it was a religious necessity and threw parties and feast for their friends. Many buildings and gardens also came into existence."

After the arrival of Aurangzeb in the Deccan, he was engaged in waging wars with Bijapur, Golconda and the protracted wars between the Mughals and the Marathas till the death of Aurangzeb caused a general economic decline all over the Deccan.

The other factors such as oppression by the agents of jagirdars and officials in collecting the revenue, increased burden of the taxes on the peasants and famines also played their role and hit the economic prosperity adversely. In this regards Bhim sen says "the agents of jagirdars did not hesitate to collect the revenue with oppression because they were not sure of their period of employment. Then there was the oppression by the faujdars, deshmukhs and zamindars also who took money from peasants on every conceivable plan. Some of the peasants were not unwilling to pay the proper revenue but did not the means of doing so by reason of enemy's (Marathas) depredation.

Many famines took place in the Deccan due to the failure or due to the destruction of crops owing to excessive rainfall. After the great famine of 1630-31 caused by the failure of rains and

then by the excessive rainfall next year; minor famines on regional scale recurred in the Deccan in 1655, 1682 and 1684. In 1702-1704 another great famine took place which is estimated to have killed over a million souls and caused many starved people to be sold as slaves. About this famine Bhim Sen writes that there was no rainfall all over the Deccan hence no good harvest also. Famine became so severe that men went out of their ancestral homes.

This immediate and direct effect of famines was the scarcity of food grains. The majority of the people left affected areas and returned to their places after sometime. As such the cultivation was hampered in those areas during the intervening period.

Due to the factors mentioned above the economic prosperity and peace disappeared from all over the Deccan. The food grains which were once very cheap were being sold at very exorbitant prices during the last years of Aurangzeb's rule. Bhim Sen supplies information on this aspect also. Under 44th regnal year of Aurangzeb's reign (1701-1702) Bhim Sen says "here some years before, grain was very cheap, two shahjahani maunds selling for a rupee. But now owing to devastation of the whole country of Telangana not more than 12 seers can be had."

During the famine of 1702-1704 the scarcity of food grains increased much more. About acute shortage of food grains Bhim Sen writes "on this side of Narmada nowhere could grain be found cheaper than six seers a rupee."

Aurangzeb was moving from one place to another to capture forts and punish the enemy and owing to enemy's action little grain reached the imperial camp.

In this regard also Bhim Sen observed that in November 1703 grain was being sold at two seers per rupee in the imperial camp in the Poona cantonment and when Aurangzeb left this place and the imperial camp was pitched near Rajgarh and Torna available grain could be with difficulty even at two seers a rupee.

FUZUNI ASTARABADI'S FUTUHAT-I- ADIL SHAHI

M. A. Nayeem

The manuscript of Futuhat-i- Adil Shah; describes complete history of the first six Adil Shahi rulers of the Bijapur kingdom from 1489 to 1644 A.D. To render the evaluation of the manuscript intelligible a short digrassion is deemed necessary.

The Adil Shahi kingdom of Bijapur was an off-shoot of the Bahmani kingdom. It was founded by Yusuf Beg Turkman of Aq-Quyunlu tribe of Diyarbykir in eastern Anatolia (Asia Minor). Yusuf's father Mahmud Beg was the governor of Sawa in Iran.

Yusuf migrated to the Deccan and entered Bahmani service in 1461. During the political turmoil and disintegration of the Bahmani kingdom in the last quarter of fifteenth century, Yusuf was the governor of the Bahmani province of Bijapur.

Taking advantage of the weakness of the Bahmani ruler, Yusuf became autonomous in 1489. Thus he laid the foundation of the Adil Shahi dynasty and Bijapur kingdom which lasted for nearly 200 years. By Lunar calendar it works out to 202 years. Bijapur kingdom was conquered by Aurangzeb in 1686.

Yusuf was a liberal patron of learning and invited scholars and poets from Iran, Turan, Arabia and Rum to Bijapur to partake in his munificent patronage. He was a ruler of versatile genius and

varied accomplishments. He was a poet and an excellent calligraphist in the Nastaliq style and possessed a good command over rhetoric and prosody. Yusuf's mother tongue was Turkish, but his stay at Sawa for his early education and later sojourn at Shiraz, seems to have completely Persianized him.

Safawid kings of Iran and Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur accepted Shiism almost simultaneously and diplomatic relations were established spontaneously.

Yusuf died in 1510. His successors -Ismail Adil Shah, Mallu Adil Shah, Ibrahim Adil Shah I, Ali Adil Shah I, Ibrahim Adil Shah II, Muhammad Adil Shah, Ali Adil Shah II, and Sikandar Adil Shah were all patrons of learning and encouraged migration of learned men, to the kingdom from abroad. This will be evident from the following pages. Scholars, historians, poets, theologians etc. all thronged to Bijapur court from different countries and flourished.

From the small Bahmani province of Bijapur in the last quarter of the fifteenth century it expanded from Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, from sea to sea during the course of nearly 200 years.

The Futuhat is the history of Adil Shahi sultans, Yusuf the founder of the dynasty and Muhammad Adil Shah was the patron of the author Fuzuni and the Futuhat-i- Adil Shahi. He was succeeded by two more rulers.

The political geography of the Bijapur kingdom prevented it to flourish and exist in rigid isolation. Its history therefore is full of contacts and active diplomatic and commercial intercourse with other countries and contemporary political India. The external relations of Bijapur were of multifarious nature political and diplomatic, commercial and economic, social, cultural and religious.

The external relations of Bijapur were multiplex. It maintained heterogeneous relations simultaneously with diverse states. Its relations were with seven groups of states the parent Bahmani

kingdom, Deccan sultanates, Vijayanagar and its succession states, the Mughals, the Marathas and the European settlements (Portuguese, British, Dutch, and the French) in south India. Besides it had diplomatic and cultural relations with Iran and other Afro-Asian nations. (On this subject readers are kindly referred to the present writer's book : *The External Relations of the Bijapur Kingdom (1489-1686 A.D) .A Study in Diplomatic History.* Hyderabad, 1974.

Introduction

The Futuhat-i-Adil Shah by Fuzuni Astarabadi compiled during 1050-54 A.H./1640-44 A.D. is a comprehensive historical monograph and an indispensable source for the political and diplomatic history of the Adil Shahis of Bijapur and its relations with the neighboring states as well as Iran and the Mughals. However in spite of its great- importance as a historical source, it is unpublished. Neither its Persian text nor its translation is published. The only known manuscript is in the British Museum (Add. No. 27,251). A copy is with the present writer.

Jadunath Sarkar had a transcript copy of the manuscript. An abridged translation of the portion relevant to Shivaji from the manunscript has been published by Jadunath Sarkar in his *House of Shivaji*. Also Sarkar published a short notice from the manunscript about Malik Ambar. (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1933). K.K. Basu also published from the manunscript a notice about Ibrahim Adil Shah II. (*Journal of the Bihar Orissa Research Society*, 1933).

The Author

Mir Hashim Beg Fuzuni, native of Astarabad in Iran had travelled extensively in Iran, Arabia and Central Asia, and finding the return journey home rather hazardous, he was inspired to embark on a voyage to India where people from his home town

were holding high positions.

On his voyage from Red Sea to India his ship was attacked by Malabari pirates, Fuzuni landed at the port of Mustafabad-Dabul probably in 1025/1616. Before proceeding to the Deccan, he accompanied Ahmed Beg Kabuli, governor of Kashmir to Lahore and several other places in north India in 1025/1616.

From Fuzuni's statement in the Futuhāt, it is certain that he was at Nauraspur, in Bijapur, in 1050/ 1640 and wrote his Futuhāt about that time.

In the Mai Khano of Abdun Nabi Qazwini written in 1026/ 1617, a short notice of Fuzuni Astarabadi has occurred which mostly agrees with Fuzuni's own account in chapter V of Futuhāt Adil Shahi. According to Abdun Nabi, Mir Hashim Beg, Fuzuni Astarabadi was a poet of renown and also possessed great efficiency in the art of history writing. He was in Kashmir for some time and was engaged in writing a history which on completion was named "Buhayra". No further details about the author are available from any other source.

At Bijapur, Fuzuni was introduced in the court to Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah by Mirza Muhammad Amin, alias Mustafa Khan, a potentate, and a commander of Adil Shahi forces, for whom Fuzuni has the highest regards. It was under the patronage of Muhammad Adil Shah that Fuzuni undertook to compile the Futuhāt.

The Work and its Style

Ferishta was pioneer in reviving the classical form of history writing in India.

He is the first official chronicler of Adil Shahi court. When Ferishta was introduced by Shah Nawaz Khan to Ibrahim Adil Shah II, the latter presented him a copy of Mir Khwand's Rawdatu's Safa, (a history of Iran), and bade him to undertake

the compilation of a comprehensive history of India, with Rawdat as the model. This work and *Tabaqat-i Akbar Shahi* of Nizamuddin Ahmad were the models of Ferishta's work.

Rafiuddin Shirazi modeled his *Tadhkirat* on the lines of *Rawdatus-saifa*. And Fuzuni has elaborately expanded the *Tadhkirat* and carried further, and modelled *Futuh* on the lines of Ferishta. Thus Persian historiography of *Rawdat* was in the background of *Futuh* and the contemporary chronicles of Adil Shahi court.

The Persian chroniclers of Bijapur, according to the prevailing trend in medieval India, adopted the Persian model for historical works and surveyed the social landscape from the foot of the royal throne and treated the biography of the Adil Shahi sultans as the history of the times.

The works of contemporary chroniclers of Bijapur, Ferishta, Rafiuddin, Fuzuni, Zuhur, and Nurullah were the product of the Adil Shahi court. Consequently, their historical conspectus was limited to the Bijapur court and they wrote under a serious handicap. The selection of the material and criticism of events by these official chroniclers were determined by the wishes, both explicit and implicit, of Adil Shah and his minister in power. Obviously, the chroniclers overpraised their rulers and exaggerated their achievements. Thus the psychology, preference, and prejudices, ethnic-*afaqi* and religious sect of the chroniclers played a major role in shaping their historical writings on Bijapur.

Fuzuni, while hailing from the same native place Astarabad of Ferishta, has successfully presented a fine specimen of history and literary art in his *Futuh*. He has combined the essentials of history and literature.

Fuzuni emulates the model history of Ferishta even in minor details. And, following the methodology of Persian historiography, he has indulged in repetition of facts and fulsome expressions. Fuzuni

has unveiled the history in ornate and florid style, characterized by elegance and grace and scattered with flowery rhetoric and poetic quotations. He has adopted a comparatively plain, unadorned and unembellished form of expression. He has extensively quoted Ferishta's *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* and Rafiuddin Shirazi's *Tadhkirat ul Muluk*. Each of *Tadhkirat*'s chapter appears to have been elaborately expanded into a volume by Fuzuni.

A peculiar feature of Fuzuni is that in the beginning of the narrative in various chapters a quotation from popular poets or the poetic compositions of himself were invariably used. The tendency to offer a general comment on the conclusion of a historical episode is another feature. Fuzuni's style is inspired by Ferishta.

Fuzuni has reported conversation in direct narration which dramatizes the situation and thus he has enhanced the transparency of the expression.

The quotation of verses frequently interspersed in the prose of historical narrative are not always spontaneous but were author's choice. Appropriate relevant verses are quoted in the description of various social and cultural occasions; like coronations, births and deaths of rulers, weddings, other festivities, battles, etc. The historical narrative is chaste and lucid.

He faithfully quotes numerous controversial versions of an incident and then finally attempts to give his own version. However, he sometimes ends controversial accounts abruptly.

He has not given a consolidated list of his sources but frequently mentions them in the body of the text of his narrative. He has extensively quoted Ferishta and Rafiuddin. His other sources are the histories of Mulla Daud Bidari, Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmad and Husainuddin Qandhari.

Significance and Importance of the Manuscript

Ferishta's history of the Deccan ends around 1606 and Rafiuddin's about 1615. Thus we have no other comprehensive and authentic history of Adil Shahi dynasty except Futuhat I Adil Shahi to fill the lacuna between the works of Ferishta and Saiyid Nurullah, the author of Tarikh I Ali Adil Shah Thasi, i.e. between the period 1606 to 1667.

Futuhat is equally indispensable to the historians of the Mughal rule in the period of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, as Fuzuni provides a detailed account of the military activities of Mughals in the Deccan with regard to Ahmednagar and Bijapur as well as the exchange of envoys, and signing of the treaties etc.

He gives unique accounts which shaped Shah Jahan's policy towards Bijapur. It also reveals, the mission of Shah Abul Hasan which resulted in the secret agreement and a treaty between Muhammad Adil Shah and Shah Jahan, which explains latter's liberal attitude towards Bijapur.

Moreover, this is the only earliest source available about the history of the later period of Ibrahim Adil Shah II's reign to his death in 1627. His account of Ibrahim Adil Shah II and Muhammad Adil Shah may be safely relied upon as trustworthy and first hand. His access to official record and documents is quite possible through his influence at the court and because he was working under the patronage of sultan Muhammad Adil Shah.

Being an exclusively independent history of the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur, the work is very important and certainly far more comprehensive and rich in details than the sketchy work of Rafiuddin.

Futuhat has also been a very valuable source of information for later histories of the Adil Shahi dynasty, like Ahwal I Salatin I Bijapur and Basatinu's Salatin.

Plan of the Work

The Futuhat I Adil Shahi comprises six parts and an introduction. Each part is devoted to the reigns of the six Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur. But mainly it is devoted to the reigns of Ibrahim Adil Shah II (988-1037/1580-1627) and Muhammad Adil Shah (1037-67/1627-56). Fuzuni gives eye witness accounts. The last two chapters are more comprehensive in their treatment than the preceding ones, and these chapters cover two-third of the manuscript.

The Introductory part gives details of the voyages and pilgrimages undertaken by the author in Iran, Central Asia etc. before he came to India and landed at the port of Dabul. He then goes on to describe the political conditions prevalent in the Bahmani kingdom during the last quarter of the 15th century, (folios 1-6).

In the first part covering Yusuf Adil Shah's reign (1489-1510), the achievements of the founder and the first Adil Shahi ruler are described. The genealogy of Yusuf along with the circumstances which made him to leave his native place in Rum (Asia Minor) are detailed. (folios 7a-35a).

In the second part the reign of Ismail Adil Shah I 1510-1534)-affairs of Amir Barid and his relations with Ismail Adil Shah's, war with Vijayanagara are detailed. (folios 35-59a)

The third part covers the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah I (1534-1558) gives details of the Rajas of Vijayanagara; details of the treaty

Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar; description of the fortress of Bijapur and the foundation of the new city of Shahpur. (folios 59a-77a).

The fourth part covers the reign of Ali Adil Shah I (1558-1580). Giving details of alliance with Rama Raj of Vijayanagar and invasion of Nizam Shahi territory; retreat of Ali Adil Shah from Karnataka after the death of Rama Raj and Ali Adil Shah advances into the Raichur Doab under Rama Raj.; alliance between Murtaza Nizam Shah and Qutb Shah and invasion of Adil Shahi territory. Further details of an alliance of Nizam Shah and Ali Adil Shah for the invasion of Vijayanagara; the allies conquest of Bankapur, etc.-invasion of Penuconda; repairs made to the City wall of Bijapur and administrative reforms introduced in Bijapur. A major innovation made was the enrollment of Hindu nobles in the government. (folio 77b-47a).

The fifth part covers elaborate details of the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1627). Bijapur's war with the neighbors--Qutb Shah and Nizam Shah; internal problems and the domination of the slaves; details about the Mughal emperor Akbar's intentions of conquering the Deccan; the foundation of the new city of Nauraspur are described; details of the various artists

at the court of Bijapur, like, Malik-i-Qummi, Zuhuri, Atashi, Baqar, Khalilullah, are mentioned . (folio 147b-314b) .

The sixth part covers Muhammad Adil Shah's reign (1627-1656) which was full of several internal problems and impending Mughal invasion with the arrival of Shah Jahan at Daulatabad. Shah Abul Hasan's mission to Shah Jahan resulting in conciliation and treaty with the Mughals. Consequently Adil Shah sent his envoy to the Mughal Court. Prosperity at Shahpur, a suburb of Bijapur is described along with the port of Chaul. Adil Shah's Karnataka campaign and the conquest are mentioned. Adil Shah visited the tomb of Hazarath Gesu Daraz at Gulbarga. Besides several other important matters of the kingdom and events are described .(315-404f).

Conclusion

Futuhāt as an original contemporary source is indispensable for the history of the Adil Shahi kingdom and its relations with the neighboring five Deccan states as well as the Mughals and Iran, needs serious attention by historians for its translation and publication.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO TAZKIRAT-E-SALATEEN-E- AJDBL SHAHIA OF SAHIB HAZRAT ZUBAIRI

Abdul Gani Imaratwale

The Adil Shahi kingdom of Bijapur had been born out of the ruins of the Bahmanis. In the beginning it comprised the western Maharashtra and the Kannada linguistic areas. The latter situated in the north of the Tungabhadra River. By the end of the seventeenth century its boundaries reached from the Arabian Sea, in the west to the Bay of Bengal, in the east. Thus in the medieval times, after the Great Mughals, the kingdom was considered to be the second in power and influence in the subcontinent of India.

In the span of about two centuries (1489-1686) in all nine Sultans ascended on the throne of Bijapur. Other than their political accomplishments they were well known for liberalism and tolerance. During their rule, it was seen that men of letters and various skilled persons flocked to Bijapur from the Middle-East and other areas of the African continent. The Sultans, being themselves the laureates, poets and patrons of learning, encouraged the historians, scholars, writers, scientists, philosophers, etc. to contribute to the cause of knowledge. In consequence of the State policy and the royal patronage, a bulk of literature in different fields of knowledge was produced in the kingdom, thereby making

Bijapur a great centre of learning in the medieval Deccan. The studies of ecclesiastical nature, ethics, scholasticism, logic, astrology, mathematics, prose and poetry, Ayurved and Unani medical sciences, etc. progressed and flourished. On account of its growing popularity in the field of education and learning the sixth Sultan of Bijapur, Ibrahim Adil Shah-II (1580-1627) renamed it Vidyapur or Bidyapur, and the city was equally counted along with great Islamic centres of Baghdad and Neshapur.¹

The Sultans knew the importance of historical writings; hence they patronized the historians to write up the accounts of their life and achievements.² Thus, in the course of a century i.e. from 1580-1680, many valuable works like *Tarikh-e-Farishtah* of Muhammad Qasim Farishtah, *Tazkiratul Muluk* of Rafiuddin Shirazi, *Futuh-at-e-Adil Shahi* of Fuzuni Astrabadi, *Guldastah-e-Gulshan-e-Raz* Dar Tarif Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah of Abdul Qadir Al-Husaini, *Muhammad Namah* of Zuhur bin Zuhuri, *Tarikh-e-Ali Adil Shahia* of Qazi Nurullah, etc. had been produced at the Court of Bijapur.

Even after the fall of Bijapur in 1686, there was no dearth of literary activities in Bijapur, though not on par with the glorious heydays of the Adil Shahi rule. During the Mughal rule (1686-1724) in the Subah (province) of Bijapur, Abdul Haq and Muhammad Masum copied *Ikhtiyar bin Ghayasuddin Husaini's Sharah-e-Haq*, a book of commentary on the well-known short poem entitled *Muqaffimatus Salat*, also called with its first word *Nam-e-Haq*, which was composed in AH. 693 (AD. 1293) by Sharfuddin Bukhari. Likewise, a copy of *Taysirul Ahkam*, a concise work of Islamic belief and moral conception by Shihabuddin Umar-az-Zawali Daulatabadi was produced.³ Further, the poets and scholars like Muqimi, Qazi Mahmood Bahri, Mazrami, Sayyed Shah Muhammad Qadri flourished in Bijapur.⁴ Under the aegis of the Nizams (1724-60) in Darul-Zafar Bijapur,⁵ a couple of poets named Wali Bijapuri (and) Sanati were also found.⁶

During the rule of the Adil Shahis the literature concerned to all branches of knowledge was produced, however, under the succeeding powers the literary works of religious and poetic nature were noted. Further, even under the Maratha rule (the Peshwas and the Rajas of Satara; 1760-1848) in Bijapur the literary traditions of medieval ages continued. In this period and little later the significant works of historical value had come out. Among them mention may be made of *Ahwal-e-Salateen-e-Bijapur* (1806) of Muhiuddin Pirzade, *Bosateenus Salateen* (1811) and *Rauzatul Awalia-e-Bijapur* (1825) a hagiographical account of Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi and *Guldastah-e-Bijapur* (1860) of Mir Ghulam Ali. For writing of above works the authors chiefly utilized the original contemporary authorities, therefore their writings gained immense popularity in the academic circle. Here in this paper these works are dealt as near-contemporary for the study of the Adil Shahi period.

On account of the immense importance of the afore-mentioned works, it is felt mandatory for the students of Bijapur history that beside the contemporary sources they should consult these near contemporary sources for proper understanding of the subject. Among the later sources *Bosateenus Salateen* of Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi occupies a prominent position, as it is a comprehensive and accurate history of Bijapur, covered from 1489 to 1811, compiled by taking evidences from the contemporary works of the Adil Shahis and the Mughal periods.⁷

Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi⁸ being a local historian, had exceptionally close intimacy with Bijapur's historical evidences, his belongingness and above all love for his native land gave him a unique opportunity to gain insight into some previous obscure aspects of Bijapur history.

Similar to the historical work, *Bosateenus Salateen*, I recently found at the Mumbai Archives, Mumbai a rare copy of the

manuscript Tazkirat-e-Salateen-e-Adil Shahia of Ghulam Murtuza, popularly called Saheb Hazrat Zubairi.⁹ The author was a son of Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi.¹⁰ Like his illustrious father, he too was known for his scholarship. Being a rationalist, he acquired expertise in the science of the fundamentals of religion or knowledge of logic and philosophy (Ilm-e-Manqul) and contemplative science (Ilm-Maqul). The author calls himself a worthy successor (Khalaf) to his father.¹¹ His work is a concise history (31 folios; 61 pages) of the Adil Shahi kings of Bijapur. The author foot-stepped in the shoes of the historians of the Adil Shahi period and followed the style of the Persian historiography of Bijapur Court. His scheme of work runs chapter-wise as under;¹²

- I. Accession of Yusuf Adil Shah
 - a) His death
 - b) Important events and dates
- II. Accession of Ismaeel Adil Shah.
- III. Accession of Ibrahim Adil Shah-1
- IV. Accession of Ali Adil Shah-1
- V. Accession of Ibrahim Adil Shah-11
- VI. Accession of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah
 - a) Short Account of Bijapur
 - b) Details of Peshkash (Tribute, etc.)
 - c) Description of Malik-e-Maidan Gun
 - d) Account of Siddi Rehan
 - e) Account of Daulat Khan entitled Khwas Khan
 - f) Account of Nawab Mustafa Khan
 - g) Chronology
 - h) Account of death of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah
- VII. Accession of Ali Adil Shah-II

- a) Account of martyrdom of Afzal Khan
- b) Account of Siddi Jauhar
- c) Account of death of Ali Adil Shah
- d) Chronology VIII. Accession of Sultan Sikandar
- a) Account from Bosateenus Salateen
- b) Account of death of Emperor Alamgir
- IX. Short Account of Shahji Bhonsale and his sons
- X. Account of Sambhaji and Ramaji, popularly known Santaji, sons of Shivaji

Though Tazkirat-e-Salateen-e-Adil Shahia is a concise work, but its author tried his best to account almost all important historical events occurred in the respective reigns of the Adil Shahi Sultans. The separate addition of chronology of important occurrences, constructions of the principal edifices, forts, etc. add further strength to its significance. The work begins with a short note of the political affairs of the Imperial rule of the Khalji Governors in the province of Bijapur and ends with the military activities of the Marathas. Other than the accounts of the nobles mentioned under the sub titles in the respective chapters of the Sultans, the author additionally cited the role and the achievements of the nobles named Asad Khan Lari, Abdul Muhammad, Bahlol Khan, Siddi Maswood Khan, Sayyed Iliyas Sharza Khan, his son Sayyed Makhdum Sharza Khan; Maloji Ghorpade, Manikji Ghorpade and others. The details of revenues of ports of western peninsula, the southern campaigns of Sultan Muhammad and the incessant Mughal attacks on Bijapur are discussed at length. Besides, the historians and poets like Muhammad Qasim Faristah, Rafiuddin Shirazi, Zuhur bin Zuhuri, Qazi Sayyed Nurullah, Shah Abul Maali, Mulla Abdur Razzaq Rafat, Oais, Abdul Qadir Naurasi, Abdul Latif, Abdul Nabi are enlisted in the accounts. Lastly, the accounts of Shahji Bhonsale, Shivaji, Sambhaji, and Ramaji are distinctly mentioned,

as such, perhaps not found in other contemporary, and near contemporary Persian works.

In early folios Saheb Hazrat writes that for his work he took maximum information from Bosateenus Salateen. However, the chronological details, the accounts of the Maratha activities, and other episodes suggest that he had access to the other sources like *Tarikh-e-Haft Kursi* of Asad Khan, Mir Ibrahim bin Mir Husain Lari Asad Khani and others,¹³ *Ahwal-e-Salateen-e-Bijapur* of Muhiuddin Pirzade,¹⁴ *Muntakhabul Lubab* of Muhammad Khafi Khan,¹⁵ and other Mughal authorities. Thus, the author's consultation of various sources made *Tazkirat-e-Salateen-e-Adil Shahia*, a very good addition to the existing near-contemporary sources.

Another contemporary writer Sayyed Muhiuddin bin Sayyed Mahmood wrote *Risala-e-Hadiqatu'l Muluk* (1824)¹⁶ and *Majmaul Ansaab*,¹⁷ perhaps he made use of Saheb Hazrat's chronicle for the account of Adil Shahi kings in his former work. It seems P.M. Joshi¹⁸ studied and referred this manuscript *Tazkirat-e-Salateen-e-Adil Shahia* for his writings, but he mixed up the name of the author as Ghulam Muhiuddin Saheb Hazrat, with that of the name of author of *Risale-e-Hadiqatu'l Muluk*.¹⁹

The manuscript *Tazkirat-e-Salateen-e-Adil Shahia* is hitherto unknown, hence not utilized by the scholars. Other than the extracts from Bosatenus Salateen it contains a lot of latent information, which will be useful for further reconstruction of Bijapur history.

Notes & References

1. Neshapur or Neshabur was one of the four capital cities of the province of Greater Khurasan. This capital was known for its political, religious, educational and learning and cultural significance. The city was founded by Shapur-I (AD. 245-76; he was son of Ardashir; AD. 231-45, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty) by name *Gunde-Shapur*. After sometime

- the city was apparently destroyed and rebuilt by Shapur-II (AD. 328-400; he was the 9th king of the Sasanian dynasty). Cf: Qazi Nasiruddin Abu Saeed Abdullah Baizvi, 'Nizamut Tawarikh', AH. 674 (AD. 1275). Ed. Qadri, Hakim Sayyed Shamsullah, Hyderabad, pp: 32-33
2. The early two chronicles of Bijapur viz. Tarikh-e-Farishta and Tazkiratul Muluk also covered the histories of other Muslim dynasties and even activities of their neighbouring Hindu Rajas. The later works concentrated more on the dynastical rule of the Adil Shahis.
 3. Dr. Imaratwale, Abdul Gani, 'History of Bijapur Subah; 1686-1885', New Delhi, 2007, p: 144
 4. Qadri, Hakim Sayyed Shamsullah, 'Urdu-e-Qadeem', (Urdu), Hyderabad, 1939, pp: 93-95, 97-99, 119
 5. Emperor Aurangzeb named the city after its conquest as Darul Zafar, a sort of pun on the old name of Vijaypur or Bijapur.
 6. Urdu-e-Qadeem; pp: 105-06.
 7. Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi also utilized Maasir-e-Alamgiri of Saqi Mustaeed Khan and other chronicles of Mughal period for his brief account of the post-Adil Shahi history of Bijapur.
 8. He was a familial descent of Qazi Ibrahim Zubairi, Qaziul Quzat (Chief Justice) in the reign of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah (1627-56). The Shrine of Qazi Ibrahim Zubairi and other graves of important members of family are situated in the area of Rangeen Masjid, in the west of Golgumbad. Even to this day his descendants live at the residences nearby the Shrine.
 9. This manuscript No-6527 previously acquired from Record Office, Bombay Secretariat.
 10. His familial genealogy runs thus;
 - a) Ghulam Murtuza Saheb Hazrat Zubairi
 - b) Hafiz Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Zubairi
 - c) Maulana Ismaeel Zubairi,.
 - d) Abdul Qadir Zubairi

e) Qazi Ibrahim Zubairi (Qaziul Quzat)

(Cf. Gulshanabadi, Sayyed Imamuddin Ahmad, 'Tazkiratul Ansaab', Delhi, AH. 1322 (AD. 1904); p: 154. Certain chronicles of the period suggest that over the head of Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, there was one name Saheb Hazrat that is missing from the genealogical table of the family.

11. Saheb Hazrat, 'Tazkirat-e-Salateen-e-Adil Shahia; f: 1 (a)
12. Here, as in the case of Bosateenus Salateen, the reign of Mallu Adil Shah that lasted for six month in 1535, was not distinctly dealt.
13. Asad Khan Lari and others, 'Tarikh-e-Haft Kursi', manuscript 1903, No. 454, India Office London. Its Marathi translation, appeared in Shiva-Charitra Vratsangrah Khand-2, Pune.
14. Pirzade, Muhiuddin, 'Ahwal-e-Salateen-e-Bijapur', Add. No. 26, 270, British Museum, London
15. Khafi Khan, 'Muntakhabul Lubab', (Elliot & Dowson's Translation), Allahabad.
16. Sayyed Muhiuddin bin Sayyed Mahmood, '*Risala-e-Hadiqatul Muluk*', manuscript no. 6528, Mumbai Archives, Mumbai. This work is also rare and unknown that contains the accounts of the Bahmanis and their off-shoots. The author covered the history of the Bahmanis at length,
17. I possess photostat copies of some excerpts of the manuscript of Majmaual Ansaab.
18. Dr. P. M. Joshi worked as Director of Mumbai Archive, Mumbai from 1947 to 1965.
19. Sherwani H. K. & Joshi P. M., 'Medieval Deccan', Part-11, Hyderabad, 1973, p: 583.

EXPLORING DIMENSIONS OF MEDIEVAL DECCAN AS REVEALED THROUGH MANUSCRIPTS

Kashshaf Ghani

The sustained development of a rich scholarship on medieval India has successfully challenged the imperialist assumption of a non-existent historical trajectory of South Asia in the pre-colonial period. Over half a century of rigorous scholarship has enlightened us with a rich and diverse history of a period stretching over seven centuries - conveniently addressed as the medieval era of Indian history. An intensive engagement with this period has registered two important achievements, among many. First, it has negated the Western scholarly thesis of an Indian society orphaned of any indigenous historical tradition.² Secondly, it has brought to the fore numerous valuable findings in the form of sources, archival materials and theoretical interventions.³

One of the important contributions of this scholarship has been its engagement with a unique source - the manuscripts a treasure chest of medieval India. These manuscripts have been instrumental in shaping up the history of these long seven centuries, punctuated by numerous ruling houses, invasions, rebellions, cultural trends and political junctures. But at the same time one witnesses a favoured approach, perhaps unintentionally, towards the historical investigation of north India, rather than the south. Majority of

scholarly exercises have been focused on studying and researching on the historical dimensions of medieval north India through its manuscripts, rather than turning their focus towards the south.

It has been an irony of sorts that any attempt at examining the mystical aspect of Islam in the subcontinent too has been limited largely to north India, with scant regard to the events that unfolded in the Deccan. The ideas, activities and contributions of great Sufis like Burhanuddin Gharib (d. 1337), Zaynuddin Shirazi (d. 1369) and Bandanawaz Gesudaraz (d. 1422) have remained largely overshadowed by their north Indian peers like Baba Fariduddin (d. 1265) and Nizamuddin Awliya (d. 1325) among many. But under no circumstances must the mystical masters of the Deccan be denied of their rich contributions towards making the mystical ideals of Islam acceptable to the local population, thereby striving hard to shape up a Muslim society based on the values and ideals of the faith. At the same time these saints were instrumental in upholding the message of conciliation with local religions and cultures, which at times reflected on the ideals and exercises of these mystics themselves.

But that does not, by any means, rob the Deccan of its glory in medieval Indian history. The production and scholarly engagement with manuscripts was as rigorous in the Deccan as it was in its north. Therefore we have an equally prolific account of the developments in diverse fields - Political, Economic, Socio-Cultural and Administrative - of Deccani history. This paper will attempt to throw some light on medieval Deccan as has been available through a variety of manuscripts produced on various aspects of Deccani history.

Transmission of ideas occurred at multiple levels of the society, thereby aiding in the institutionalisation of multiple Sufi orders in the Deccan. From the point of view of social and religious organisation, this paper will look into the tendencies of systematic

differentiation and assimilation that Sufi orders experienced in the peninsular region of the subcontinent, together with the impact it had on the structuring and evolving of the order in south India, through the lenses of manuscripts on this tradition.

Collections from the Asiatic Society of Bengal

In 1904 the government of India, on the insistence of the President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, accepted the proposal to create a special department for instituting a systematic search for manuscripts of Persian and Arabic works. This project, pursued on behalf of the Government of India, combined a two fold objective - First, the purchase of Arabic and Persian manuscripts, and secondly, search for and cataloguing of these manuscripts. A large number of manuscripts, precisely 1106, were acquired during 1904-07. In the consecutive years, during 1908-10, additional 540 manuscripts were purchased. The catalogue of these acquired manuscripts, preserved at the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, was prepared in the lines of the catalogue of the India Office Library, London which was in turn prepared by Dr. E.D. Ross and Professor E.D. Browne.⁴

In 1912 at the insistence of Major C.L. Peart the decision was taken to make Hafiz Nazir Ahmed, the first travelling maulavi, visit various libraries and book stores scattered throughout India and prepare notices of manuscripts. He accordingly visited a number of libraries and prepared notices on individual libraries of Arabic manuscripts and Persian manuscripts. The notes are on unique, rare and valuable manuscripts written in or before the ninth century AH. Each notice carried the title of the work, name of the author, date of his death, date of composition, subject matter, beginning and end of writing, the nature of hand writing etc. Amongst them we find the mention of an important manuscript on the Deccan titled *Tuhfat al Shuara*, written by Afzal Khan of Aurangabad in

1751. It contains biographies of the Persian poets of the Deccan who flourished during the time of Nizam ul Mulk Mir Qamar uddin Khan who died in 1747 in Burhanpore.⁶

Such an endeavour initiated in the early years of the twentieth century resulted in the building of a rich collection of manuscripts at one of the premier institutes in the world dedicated to Oriental Studies. Some manuscripts were collected from the Middle East through Maulvi Nazir Alimed. A parts collection of the library of Tipu Sultan from Mysore and of the Islamic manuscripts of the erstwhile Fort William College Library are preserved here. The Hyderabad collection and Cama collection are also preserved here. Alongside, many manuscripts were donated by British administrators and civil servants in course of their tenure in Bengal and also in the subcontinent as a whole.

Islamic Manuscripts

This path-breaking and futuristic exercise not only succeeded in opening up a new dimension towards historical research on Indian traditions, but at the same time took a constructive step forward to rescue and preserve an invaluable past of our heritage which ran the risk of being annihilated under the combined ills of neglect and lack of accessibility. This was the beginning of a new exercise, which would ultimately result in the unfurling of a completely new and dynamic vista of Islamic heritage spread across the world, more particularly in South Asia. Perhaps as a roll over effect we have witnessed an increasing interest in Islamic history in the recent decades, encompassing within its fold a rich variety of traditions like politics, culture, religion, ethics, commentary, mysticism among others.

Such a rigorous exercise in research was intended towards discovering the significant role Islam played in the shaping up the world civilization over more than a millennium. More importantly the current emphasis on any form of research carried out on the

Islamic lineage lies in the quest to discover what contributions this religion and culture has made in modern times, and whether such contributions are compatible to modern day developments in the field of historical research.⁸ In this effort a monumental role has been played by Islamic manuscripts which has largely been neglected by Western scholarship leaving aside few of the more famous works by Islamic philosophers and historians. It is no mean feat that our vision has been broadened and enriched by over three million manuscripts. Beyond their numbers, the value of these manuscripts lay in the sheer variety of the subjects they cover ranging from Quranic tafsir to fiqh to history, astronomy, geology, warfare and literature.⁹

Manuscripts and History Writing

Over the last fifty years, major changes in the modalities of historical enquiry have necessitated among historians a sense of urgency to tap as many sources as possible for the study of a particular dimension or era of history. With the shift towards the study of micro-history it has become imperative for historians to look beyond the grandeur of the royal court towards a deeper analysis of society, politics, culture and religion from an unbiased perspective. The demand for such broader analysis of history makes it essential to take into account all the varied sources that were once considered beyond the purview of historical analysis. It is through tapping such unconventional sources of history that one can gain useful insights into the spirit of the age. So that bits and pieces of information often change the course of analysis carried out on the basis of royal chronicles. The examination of anecdotes, events recorded in various forms of literature, poetry, recorded conversations can throw important light on the course of history of a particular period, helping us gain a clearer picture together with reaching a precise hypothesis.¹⁰

The role of manuscripts in enhancing our understanding of medieval India has been equally invaluable. It is needless to say that the numerically vast and intellectually rich variety of sources on medieval India - covering history, society, politics, religion and culture has successfully nullified the Western scholarly thesis of the Indian society bereft of any historical tradition. Though Western scholarship takes pride in their historical culture, it goes without saying that the trend of history writing was an equally well-established one in the South Asian context. By the time the Ghurids settled in the subcontinent Muslim history writing had matured and broadened as a formidable discipline taking under its purview a vast amount of sources comprising of political accounts, poetical works, mystical records, biographical accounts, revenue records, general works on religion among many.¹¹

Manuscripts in the Deccan

Though in commonsensical knowledge we tend to equate the Deccan with the South of the entire Indian peninsular, Deccan proper is differentiated from what is called South India by the tablelands lying within the dominions of the erstwhile Nizam of Hyderabad. Geographically it is ascribed to the huge equilateral triangle turned upside down just south of the Vindhya and the Tropic of Cancer.¹²

Although Delhi enjoyed an undoubted privilege and supremacy of its own from the viewpoint of history as also in its being situated almost at the centre of North India, connecting the north with the rest of India, still many historians are prone to argue that the true geographical capital of India lay somewhere near Daulatabad and Aurangabad in the Deccan.¹³ From the socio-cultural perspective, this importance accorded to the Deccan is justified by the phenomenal diversity of its population, languages, races and religions. Time and again, attempts were made to incorporate

Deccan into the great empires - largely of North India - but such attempts have failed in the long run and the Deccan has succeeded in retaining its individuality in some form or the other.

This cultural singularity of the Deccan can be traced back to its roots in the medieval period. The recruitment of Muslim soldiers in the army of Krishna Deva Raya (d. 1529), the direct influence of Hindu culture in the great Bahamani successor states of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda, the patronage of the Adilshahi and Qutbshahi sultans to local languages, the development of Dakhni Urdu, the literary exploits of the Sufi masters, all bring out the social and cultural richness of this region in the medieval period.¹⁴

Among the literary exploits, it is noteworthy that one of the most important chronicles of medieval India, Qasim Ferishta's *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* was penned in 1606 in this region. Another great work, the *Burban-i- Maasir* - the first Indo-Persian chronicle containing the history of the Qutb Shahi dynasty - was also written in the Deccan between 1350-1580. *Ryad ul Insha* containing the letters of the Bahamani Wazir Mahmud Gawan is an important document. Nawaz Khan's *Maasir ul Umara* is a great record of the biography of noble personages compiled in the Deccan. The glorious past of Deccan's history, culture and politics remains scattered in libraries and archives across the subcontinent. Of these, great many of them are in the form of manuscripts written over the medieval and late-medieval era, shedding important light on the varying dimensions of Deccan's identity.

Some of the important manuscripts covering various aspects of the Deccan remain preserved in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,

- ***Dhikr i-Ahwal i-Salatin i-Hindustan***

This manuscript written by Nizamuddin Ahmad provides us with a brief account of the various dynasties of the Deccan

(Dakhan) till the beginning of Akbar's reign. As mentioned in the preface, this work is a condensed extract of the preceding work *Tabaqat i-Akbar Shahi*. It was copied in 1811.¹⁵

- ***Maathir i-Asafi***

This manuscript contains a history of the Asafis or Nizamis of the Deccan from Asafjah I (1671-1748) down to the beginning of the reign of Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur Asafjah II in 1761. It was composed in 1793 by Lachmi Narayan with a takhallus Shafiq of Aurangabad - an author of several historical works. It was copied in the beginning of the thirteenth century A.H.¹⁶

- ***Tadhkira i-Nirmal***

A history of Nirmal, a fortress in the district of Hyderabad is the subject of this manuscript. It was composed in 1817 by Abdur Razzaq at the request of S.J. Malcolm. It was copied in 1316 A.H.¹⁷

- ***Tarikh i-Ali Adilshah***

This is the history of the last Adilshah of Bijapur who reigned from 1658-1686. The work deals with the life of Ali II from his birth till 1666. It was written in 1667 by Sayyid Nurollah bin Qadi Sayyid Ali Muhammad al-Husyni al-Qadri.¹⁸

- ***Muntakbab ul-Labab***

This volume deals with the early history of India and the dynasties of the Deccan. The contents are distinctly derived from *Tarikh i-Ftrishat*. After a very brief note on the early history of India, there begins the history of the Bahamani dynasty followed by the Nizam Shahis, the Adil Shahis, the Faruqis of Khandesh, together with the Qutub Shahi and Imad Shahis of Berar and the Baridis.¹⁹

- ***Nigaristan i-Asafi***

This manuscript contains a brief description of the Asafi dynasty in Hyderabad, together with the relatives of the rulers, high officials

and nobles, revenue collectors. It also provides some information on the principal towns along with a short historical and topographical note of the Hyderabad city. This work was composed shortly after 1816 by Sayyid Ittifaf Husayn Khan. He presents himself as an employee of Sir Henry Russell, the Resident at the Court of Hyderabad from 1811-1820. This work was composed under direct orders from Russell.²⁰

Following from the above it can be argued that manuscript writing in the Deccan received considerable patronage under the Muslim rulers. The Adilshahis of Bijapur and the Nizamshahis of Ahmednagar were quite active in this field. During the Islamic dynasties of Ahmednagar and Bijapur large number of manuscripts were imported, written and copied. These were Persian manuscripts not necessarily concerned with Deccan, but with the larger Islamic civilisation. It is noteworthy that Persian manuscripts were introduced into northern India at a much earlier period and exercised a profound influence on the intellectual tradition of the Muslim rule.²¹

There remains little doubt in the fact that even to this day institutions in the city of Hyderabad have carried forward a praiseworthy effort towards preserving and disseminating these rare manuscripts. The Salar Jung Museum, a pioneer in such activities, contains a notable collection of manuscripts. Among these four Deccan manuscripts were recently published in a volume. All these manuscripts are concerned with painting and have been of great importance in their own unique ways in the understanding of Deccan history and culture. These include the Diwan of Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1611). The Bhog Bal is considered unique because it is the only example of manuscript illustration or painting from the Sultanate of Bidar. The other two manuscripts include Kulliyat i-Sadi and Yusuf Zulaikha.²²

Manuscripts on Deccani Sufism

With regard to the rise and spread of mystical orders in the Deccan, some important manuscripts remain preserved in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the details of which are as follows.

- ***Tarikh i-Habibi wa Tazkira i-Murshidi***

This manuscript containing the biography of Bandanawaz Gesudaraz was compiled by Muhammad Waizi in the year 1445 during the reign of Ahmad Shah II Bahamani. The work though largely hagiographical in nature is divided into ten chapters around the life and activities of Gesudaraz, most importantly his spiritual achievements.²³

- ***Maktubat i-Gesudara***

This manuscript contains the letters written by the famous fifteenth century Chishtia mystic, Khwaja Husayni Gesudaraz, who lived and preached in Delhi for the major part of his life. Only later at the ripe age of eighty did he move to South, and ultimately settled in Gulbarga in 1400.²⁴

- ***Sawanih***

This manuscript is a collection of notes on various local saints buried in the vicinity of Aurangabad. Alongside it also contains descriptions of their graves, an account of the city along with its remarkable buildings. The author simply calls himself Khaksar i-Sabzwani, without adding any further details to his name. He neither mentions the title of his work nor the time of its composition. From various incidental allusions it has been possible to conclude that the work was composed around 1774. Apparently no other copy of this work is known.²⁵

- ***Adah us-Sama wa al-Wajd***

This manuscript in Nastaliq does not carry the name of the author or the date of composition. The content, as evident from

the title of the work, is concerned with listening to music and poetry and falling into ecstasy in the course of spiritual exercises.²⁶

Of the three manuscripts mentioned above, the first two provide a geographical account and the letters of Deccan's most famous Sufi - Bandanawaz Gesudaraz. While the third can at best be categorised as an incomplete attempt towards mapping the 'sacred geography' of this region in the form of notes and short accounts on the various Sufis who lived and remain buried in and around Aurangabad, along with a description of the city. Here it may be recalled, for the convenience of chronology and also our understanding that long before Aurangabad became a place of historical significance, its vicinity had secured a permanent place in the historical records of medieval Deccan. The reasons for this are primarily dual - the political reason centres on the transfer of the Tughluq capital from Delhi to Daulatabad in 1327. The religious significance however, is deeper and more far-reaching. For the first time in three generations, the early Chishtia masters of the Deccan chose to locate themselves away from the shadow of the imperial capital. Burhanuddin Gharib and his followers chose to settle down not in the imperial city of Daulatabad, but in a little known settlement in the vicinity called Khuldabad.²⁷

Chishtia Manuscripts in the Deccan

Chishtia mystics had always resented any form of imperial domination and attempts by the state to utilise the popularity of the former to fulfil their political machinations. Though his masters had thwarted such attempts by the Delhi Sultans even in their own backyard, Burhanuddin Gharib chose to physically distance himself from the newly transferred royal court in Daulatabad. Emulating the great master Baba Farid, who chose the village of Ajodhan in Punjab over the imperial centre in Delhi, Burhanuddin too decided to embark on his spiritual journey in the Deccan in the town of Khuldabad rather than the imperial centre at Daulatabad, thereby

arresting any attempts by the Sultan to project his own authority in the realm by using Sufis as a legitimiser.

Khuldabad provided Burhanuddin with the scope and freedom to immerse in the practices of the Chishtia silsila, while at the same time place the order on a strong foundation in a new territory, like his masters. Burhanuddin too believed that the Chishtia 'order is known for two things: love and compassion.'²⁸ Love for God, in the eyes of Burhanuddin, flowed in a heart, which successfully controlled its carnal self. For the Chishtis, as for all Sufi orders, the primary means of controlling ones lower self lay in submission to the Almighty, humility in the heart and love for His creation. And the Chishtia masters were also unique in their way of combining all the three essential qualities mentioned above, through their rigorous spiritual exercises. Of these, the central position was occupied by the practice of *satna* (listening to mystical poetry, with or without musical accompaniments). This mystical practice of the Chishtia order warranted a combination of strict self-discipline and austerity, which in turn led towards the experience of divine union.²⁹

Recent scholarship on Deccan Sufism has irrevocably established the contribution of *malfuzat* texts as an indispensable tool for studying Sufi traditions in South Asia.³⁰ The trend set in motion by the pioneering work of Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi (d. 1329), in the form of *Fan-aid ul Fuad*, the collection of the sayings of the Chishtia master Nizamuddin Auliya, began to be emulated with beneficial results in the mystical circle of Burhanuddin Gharib in Khuldabad. The first and the perhaps the most important of the *malfuzat* texts produced in Khuldabad was *Nafais ul-Anfas wa Lataif ul-Alfaz* (Choice Sayings and Elegant Words), compiled by Ruknuddin Dabir Kashani (d. 1337). This work captures forty eight sessions from 1331-1337. Justifying his inspiration behind this compilation Ruknuddin says that 'no wayfarer has been coined in the writings of bygone sheikhs in any of those subtleties and

cyphers', which he has in the words of Burhanuddin Gharib.³¹ As malfuzat writing developed in style and content, later ones took on a more literary character, setting aside the diary format. Thus the second malfuzat from the circle of Burhanuddin Gharib, written by Hammaduddin Kashani (d. 1359-60) and titled *Ahsan ul-Aqwal* (The Best of Sayings), followed a more systematic approach covering all aspects of the life of the Sheikh.³² The third malfuzat of Burhanuddin was written by Majiduddin Kashani (d. 1347). Titled *Gharaib al-Karamat Gharaib al-Karamat wa Ajaib al-Mukhashafat* (Rare Miracles and Wondrous Unveilings), it was written after the demise of the sheikh.³³ The fourth malfuzat on Burhanuddin was also written by Ruknuddin Kashani and was titled *Shamail al-Ataqiya wa Dalail al-Anqiya* (Virtues of the Devout and Proofs of the Pure). It is a voluminous work covering oral traditions, mystical thoughts and practices of the sheikh. Although it was started during the lifetime of the sheikh and was completed after his death.³⁴

These malfuzat texts, all in manuscript form except the *Shamail al-Ataqiya*, cover a wide variety of topics ranging from biographical sketches of the sheikh, his practices, customs, manners of initiation, performance of miracles among others. However any sort of later reconstruction based on these accounts often tends to degenerate into geographical narratives glorifying the sheikh and his life through the most commonplace registers, miracles and anecdotes on supernatural events in the life of the sheikh. It is time we explore South Asian mystical traditions through a different set of lenses, which will help us capture a more precise image of Sufi beliefs and traditions, along with the enormous variety of its discipline and exuberance, etiquette and spontaneity. This investigative trend applies equally to Sufi studies in the Deccan. While earlier texts produced in the Chishtia circles have tended to ignore the presence of the malfuzat collection written in the circle of Burhanuddin, recent scholarship has successfully captured

certain interesting facets and unexplored dimensions regarding the Chishtia in the Deccan.³³

Chishtia Spiritual Practices in the Deccan

As has been argued above, the single most important spiritual activity, which successfully reflected Burhanuddin's undying love and compassion for the Almighty, was the exercise of *sama*. It is interesting to note that all the four malfuzat texts mentioned above provide a detailed and insightful discussion on this crucial aspect of Chishtia spirituality in the Deccan. An analysis of the same will help us towards a better understanding of the utilization of the manuscripts mentioned above in an attempt to enrich ourselves on the mystical culture of the Deccan. Such was the intensity of passion in Burhanuddin's engagement with *sama* that he often used to lose control over his conscious self. As a result his uninhibited limb movements came to be styled as 'Burhani'.³⁶ Opinions differ as to what was precisely meant by the term "Burhani" - whether it signified the style of dancing or the epithet given to the disciples of Burhanuddin who engaged themselves in such a style of dancing.³⁷ It is also recorded that voices were raised with regard to Burhanuddin's physical state during his intense participation in *sama* and the ensuing exercise of rags (dancing). Burhanuddin silenced his critics by saying that his practices reflected the ethos of the great Chishtia spiritual lineage, and thus it was incumbent upon him to honour that hallowed tradition even if it was not conformed to in the great Sufi manual *Awarif-ul-Maarif*.³⁸

The malfuzat therefore portrays quite vividly the popularity of *sama* in the mystical circle of Burhanuddin in Khuldabad, especially among his direct disciples like Zayn al-din Shirazi. In order to limit the growing amount of reservations against this practice, together with upholding its sanctity in the eyes of fellow mystics, both within and beyond the order, and most importantly to ward off any sort of legal interferences from the ruling authorities - Burhanuddin

and his disciples took the path of laying down a strict framework within which the ritual should be situated, quelling any amount of doubts regarding its sacredness.³⁹

Depending on the psychological and intellectual frame of mind of the seekers of God in such a spiritual assembly, Burhanuddin divided the participants of *sama* into four groups: Firstly, lawful (jaiz) *sama* is that in which the mystic directs his heart completely towards God, longing only for Him, without leaving any room for distraction in his devotion towards the Beloved. Secondly, *sama* is permitted (halal) under such conditions in which the listener, the mystic, orients himself mostly towards God, longing mostly for Him and little for His creation. Thirdly, such an exercise of *sama* is disapproved (*makruh*) where the listener yearns mostly for the creations of the Almighty, rather than longing for the Creator Himself. But lastly, the most heinous and forbidden (bonus) is that type of *sama* where the listener does not care to pay any heed to the Beloved and his Lord, but rather focuses all his attention on matters of the material world.⁴⁰ In such circumstances, the participant is engrossed in thoughts of flesh and blood, of deceit and debauchery. Such actions bear Little relevance to his spiritual pursuits, and hence place him in the folds of heresy.

It is important to take note of the fact that following his spiritual mentor in north India - Sheikh Nizamuddin Awliya - Burhanuddin Gharib too laid down elaborate norms and regulations for pursuing the exercise of *sama*. The ethical standard set by the Khuldabad saint, incorporated copious elements from Islamic law and theology, in an attempt to regulate the motivation and psychological attitude of the listener.⁴¹ But nonetheless Burhanuddin Gharib was a mystic at heart, rather than being a scholar. He found little interest in the sterile debates of scholars on issues of washing hands during ablutions or the proper ways of reading suras(chapters) from the Quran. All Burhanuddin Gharib wanted was to sacrifice oneself for the benefit of others, through love and compassion, and at the

same time find the path of union with God.⁴²

However the rising fervour of orthodoxy pervading the religious ambience of the Delhi Sultanate did not escape the seasoned eyes of Gharib, who had spent many a spring under the great master - Nizamuddin Awliya. The latter taught Burhanuddin Gharib the value of accommodating Islamic theological doctrines, within his spiritual ambience, so that Chishtia mysticism in the Deccan did not face an uncertain future. In spite of being an ecstatic participant in *sama*, Burhanuddin Gharib took great care to value Islamic principles and learning within his mystical circle. Thus works produced in his *khanqah* included references from classical Quranic commentaries, *hadith*, law, and treatises on Sufism. Burhanuddin Gharib together with instructing his disciples like Zayn al-din Shirazi, on the essentials of Chishtia mysticism, like *sama*, took care to train him in the religious sciences, ritual and legal subjects. While taking much pain to implant the ideals of the Chishtia order in a little known socio-political atmosphere of the Deccan; Burhanuddin Gharib was equally alert not to allow rulers and fellow mystics take an upper hand by criticising the spiritual practices of the order in the name of *shariah* and law.

In our understanding of Chishtia mysticism in the Deccan spiritual practices and rituals, as described in the manuscripts containing the *malfuzats* of *Burhanuddin Gharib*, is of equal importance alongside biographical and geographical narrations. An examination of these rituals helps in comprehending the essence of Chishtia ideology and spiritual beliefs that laid the foundation of this mystical order in the Deccan. *sama* came to be recognised as a legitimate form of expression of the emotion of love and longing for the divine Beloved, by the Chishtia Sufis, as differentiated from the false emotions of ecstasy and agitation.⁴³

Thus manuscripts containing the *malfuzat* of Burhanuddin Gharib are instrumental in not only providing a historical overview

of the Chishtia order in the Deccan, but also the institutionalisation of its most important spiritual exercise, *sama*. It was to the genius of the scribes that a classical tradition of the Chishtia order has been left accounted for posterity. These accounts not only detail the life and times of Burhanuddin, but at the same time his contribution in elevating the ethical standard of *sama*, as one of the most profound spiritual exercises of Chishtia mysticism. At the same time these accounts also successfully challenge the dominance of hagiographical literature as the primary index for studying mystical traditions in South Asia. Rather, these lesser-used manuscripts lay a strong platform for studying the diverse facets of mystical orders in the form of spiritual practices, devotional exercises and ecstatic engagements among many. Burhanuddin's engagement with the exercise of *sama* and the details of adab concerning this exercise provide an interesting dimension for studying Chishtia spirituality in the Deccan.

Conclusion

Manuscripts, though an invaluable resource for the study of medieval India, one cannot deny the fact that accessing manuscripts on any subject demands an enormous amount of hard work, combined with a fair share of luck. New dimensions of history keep emerging from unstudied and uncatalogued manuscripts in various collections across the Deccan. So even while we engage with a well researched area like Deccan, we remain optimistic of the fact that with passing time new dimensions will be unearthed through interesting research on Deccan history.

At the same time one ought to realise that preservation has always been a tough task with manuscripts rotting in boxes due to lack of ventilation, damp walls and seeping containers. Burning and looting of manuscripts and restricted access due to an ineffective bureaucracy are additional hazards. The issue of lesser-

examined manuscripts also involves the difficulty of gaining access - not only in private collections but also in public institutions, in unknown or uncatalogued state. Destruction and suppression of manuscripts also destroy our heritage. Thus alongside preservation, a proper programme for disseminating these rare sources is also an immediate necessity, in order to maximise its utilisation for a multi-dimensional understanding of our tradition and heritage.

Shāh Tajallī 'Ali's *Tuzuk-e-Āṣafīa*
Indo-Persian Historical Literature and Painting in
Āṣaf Jāhi Hyderabad

L. Srinayani

A study of Shāh Tajallī 'Ali's *Tuzuk-e-Āṣafīa* provides an insight into the relation of Indo-Persian historical literature and court painting in the late Mughal/ post-Mughal state of Hyderabad in the Deccan, on the cusp of colonial modernity. The production of history and painting at the Āṣaf Jāhi court may be understood as twin modes of representing the past.

The late eighteenth-century illustrated manuscript of the *Tuzuk-e-Āṣafīa*, a dynastic history of the Āṣaf Jāhs, is now in the National Museum, New Delhi,¹. It was composed during the reign of Mīr Nizām 'Ali Khān Āṣaf Jāh II (r. 1762 – 1803) by Shāh Tajallī 'Ali, historian, poet, and painter at the court of Āṣaf Jāh II.² Beginning with the establishment of Āṣaf Jāhi rule in the Deccan, his history dealt primarily with the events of his patron's reign.

Locating the Tuzuk-e-Āṣafīa:

It is important to understand the literary culture that informed the writing of the *Tuzuk-e-Āṣafīa*, and locate it in the context of the intellectual milieu of these late Mughal centres of culture.

In the context of the Tuzuk-e-Āṣafīa, this study reflects on the production of history both in images and words. In the case of an illustrated history, such as the Tuzuk-e-Āṣafīa, where verbal and visual narrations exist side-by-side, how does each approximate the other? As painter and historian/poet, Shāh Tajallī 'Ali's illustrated history needs to be examined through both text and image, and as a source for the cultures of history writing (chronicling) and painting.

Among the English sources that mention Tajallī 'Ali Shāh and Tuzuk-e-Aṣafīa are C. A. Storey's *Persian Literature: A Bibliographic Survey I* (1927)³, Stella Kramrisch in *Survey of Painting in the Deccan* (1932)⁴, Sethu Madhav Rao's *Eighteenth Century Deccan* (1963), Muhammad Ashraf in 'Deccani Qalams' (1963)⁵ and the entry on Tuzuk-e-Aṣafīa in the *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, Salar Jung Museum, edited by him, Susan Gole in *Indian Maps and Plans: From Earliest Times to the Advent of European Surveys* (1989)⁶, Naseem Akhtar and Barbara Schmitz's article 'Important Illustrated Manuscripts in the National Museum, New Delhi' in *After The Great Mughals: Painting in Delhi and the Regional Courts in the 18th and 19th centuries* (2002) ⁷, and William Dalrymple's *White Mughals* (2004).

In *Eighteenth Century Deccan*, Sethu Madhav Rao explores Persian sources for a history of the Deccan in the eighteenth century, with a view to understanding an alternate source for Maratha history. His reading of these texts is therefore focused on Nizām-Maratha relations. In the chapter on the Tuzuk-e-Aṣafīa too, Madhav Rao translates

the gist of Shāh Tajallī's account of Nizām-Maratha relations.

Mohammad Ashraf catalogues the Tuzuk-e-Aṣafīa as "A history of the Nizams of Hyderabad from their origin down to 'Īd al-Fiṭr 1207 H/ 12th may, 1793 A.D., written by one of the favourite courtiers of Mīr Nizām 'Alī Khān." Ashraf, both in his catalogue entry for the Persian manuscripts in the Salār Jung Museum and in his article in Deccani Kalams,⁸ describes the illustrated manuscript of the Tuzuk-e-Aṣafīa, now in the National Museum, New Delhi, as an 'autograph' copy. According to him the paintings and the calligraphy in this particular codex are by Tajallī 'Alī Shāh himself. He compares the Nasta'īlīq script of the Tuzuk-e-Aṣafīa to other examples of Tajallī 'Alī Shāh's calligraphy, a Qurān in Naskh, and several qit'as signed by him in Shafī'a and Shikasta.⁹

Naseem Akhtar and Barbara Schmidt discuss the Tuzuk-e-Aṣafīa among seven other illustrated manuscripts from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the National Museum.¹⁰ This essay is among the first to deal with the visual aspects of the Tuzuk-e-Aṣafīa, uniquely illustrated as the National Museum codex is. Following a brief mention of Tajallī 'Alī's multifarious talents as poet, painter, calligrapher, mystic, and a physical description of the manuscript itself, the authors outline the range of subjects illustrated. About four or five of these miniatures are briefly discussed, including the cartographic aspects of some of these paintings.

In *White Mughals*, Dalrymple briefly mentions Shāh Tajallī 'Alī as a courtier and a personal friend

of the British Resident Kirkpatrick. He writes that as poet and painter, Tajallī 'Ali helped develop Kirkpatrick's taste for Deccani painting and to put together a collection of contemporary works. His reading of the Kirkpatrick papers allows a fleeting glimpse into the personal life of Tajallī 'Ali.¹¹

Tajallī 'Ali Shāh and his *Tuzuk-e-Aṣāfiya* make far more numerous appearances in Urdu and Persian sources. Tamkīn Kāẓmī's biography of Arisṭu Jāh mentions that Tajallī 'Ali was a member of Arisṭu Jāh's court. While under Arisṭu Jāh's patronage, Shāh Tajallī 'Ali edited '*Majmū'e Faṣāḥat*', a collection of *Qaṣīdahs* (a panegyric genre of poetry), including his own in praise of Arisṭu Jāh.¹²

Tamkīn Kāẓmī also assesses the profuse literary production of this period. Apart from literature, there were other scholarly works that he finds worthy of respect. In addition to the various forms of poetry and emergent literary genres, a number of *Tazkirahs* and *Tārikhs* were also composed. Among the compilers of these chronicles, he mentions Lāla Laxminārayan Shafīq, Asad 'Ali Khān Tamanna, and Shāh Tajallī 'Ali.¹³

Lā'q Salah's *Aḥed-e-Arisṭu Jāh*¹⁴ also contains an account of Shāh Tajallī 'Ali's *Tuzuk-e-Aṣāfiya*. She has discussed several later authors who refer to the *Tuzuk*.

'Abdul Jabbār Khān Malkāpuṛī in his *Mehbūbus-Zamān*, in addition to Shāh Tajallī 'Ali's poetry also admires his painting as exceptional. 'Abdul Jabbār Khān has powerful praise for him as a painter and notes Tajallī 'Ali's love of painting.



Fig. 1. Map of the walled city of Hyderabad. Portrait of Āṣaf Jāh II with his Dīwān Rukn al-daulah, receiving the first British envoy at his court in 1766 painted as an inset. From Shāh Tajallī 'Alī, Tuzuk-e-Āṣafīya, Hyderabad, late eighteenth century. National Museum, New Delhi, Inv. No. 59. 138, fol. 82r. (Photo: courtesy of the National Museum, New Delhi)



Fig. 2. The occupation of Hyderabad by Bussy's forces, and the siege of the city by Salābat Jung's generals in 1756. From Shāh Tajallī 'Ali, *Tuzuk-e-Āṣafīa*, Hyderabad, late eighteenth century. National Museum, New Delhi, Inv. No. 59. 138, fol. 27v. (Photo: courtesy of the National Museum, New Delhi)

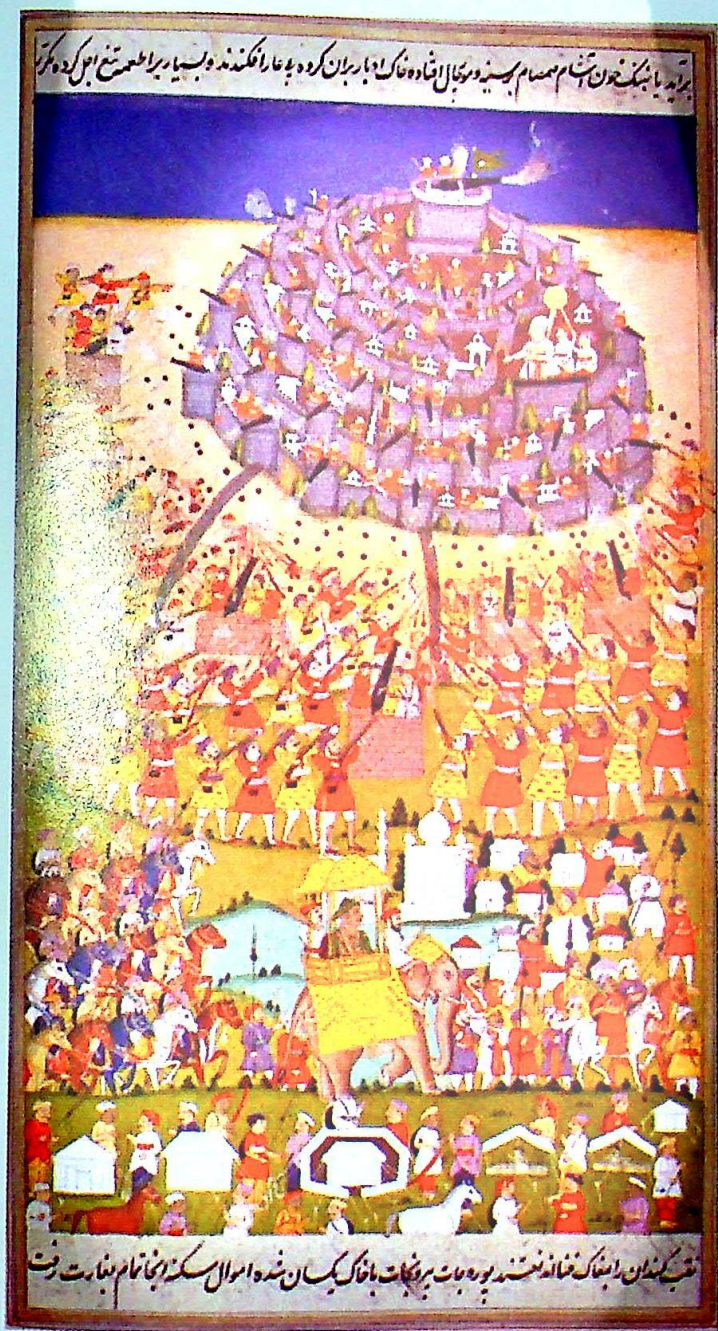


Fig. 3. Tipu Sultān besieging the fort of Adoni. From Shāh Tajallī 'Ali, *Tuzuk-e-Āṣafīa*, Hyderabad, late eighteenth century. National Museum, New Delhi, Inv. No. 59. 138, fol. 162v. (Photo: courtesy of the National Museum, New Delhi)

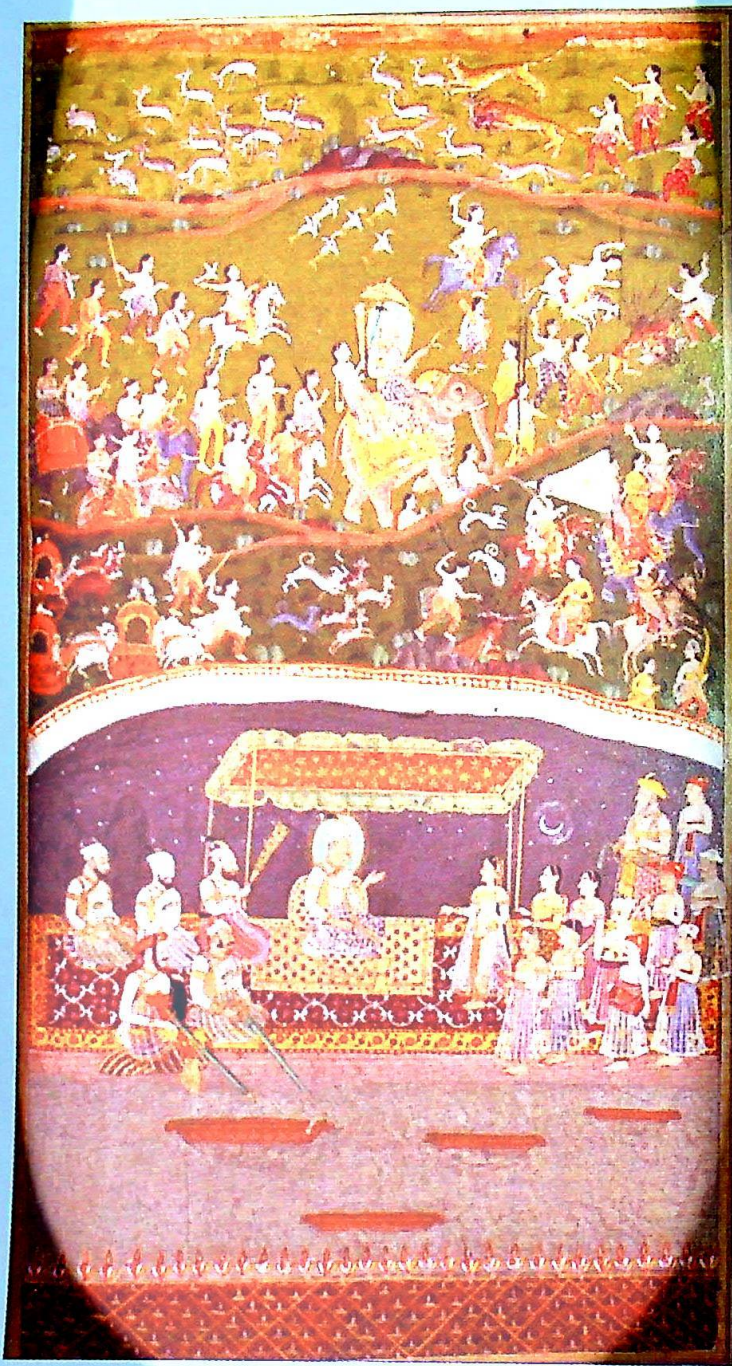


Fig. 4. The Nizam on a hunt with his zenana. From Shāh Tajallī 'Alī, *Tuzuk-e-Āṣafia*, Hyderabad, late eighteenth century. National Museum, New Delhi, Inv. No. 59. 138, fol. 127v. (Photo: courtesy of the National Museum, New Delhi)

سوی لاخام ترنرف آوردند یک جشنی جو ابرود خوان آتش پر شاک چاده رو سینه در قبول یافت روز در ملک پاش میج دی کیم ترنرف



نکستین جشن ترنرف آنگاه که منتظر بر آورده بود که نوکل حیرت آصفی چون یکمست تازده که از پنجه سیرابی در زو بهیون فرامید کام

Fig. 5. Mīr Nizām 'Alī Khān Āṣaf Jāh II at the *rang-pashi* ceremony at the minister's palace on the occasion of the wedding of the minister's son Māle Miān with the daughter of Ashja al-mulk. From Shāh Tajallī 'Alī, *Tuzuk-e-Āṣafīa*, Hyderabad, late eighteenth century. National Museum, New Delhi, Inv. No. 59. 138, fol. 149v. (Photo: courtesy of the National Museum, New Delhi)



mentioning his life-size, gem-encrusted portrait of Nizām 'Ali Khān, for which Shāh Tajallī 'Ali was awarded five thousand Rupees.

Syed Mohī al-dīn Qādri Zore in *Dāstan-e-Adab-e-Hyderabad* mentions Tajallī 'Ali as a scholar-painter of the period, along with Mīr 'Abdul 'Ali Uzzlat.¹⁵

'Abdul Qāder Sarvari's article on Tajallī 'Ali Shāh in *Muraqq'a-e-Sukkan* also identifies Shāh Tajallī 'Ali as a respected Sufī and scholar.¹⁶ However, he finds that it is insufficient to refer to him only as poet and historian, as writers of *Tazkirahs* who praise his poetry often do, in view of his multiple talents and proficiency as a painter. He writes:

In comparison to the learned people of the Āṣaf Jāh period, Shāh Tajallī is special in character. No doubt that he is a mature and serious historian and poet. But an important aspect of his abilities is that he is also a very good painter and calligrapher.

Sarvari cites Ghulām Ḥusain Khān Jauhar's mention of him in his *Tajalliāt-e-Māhlaqā* (Mah Nāmah) as among the most distinguished of calligraphers and painters.

In addition to this, Sarvari writes that like the Sufis of old who often practiced a profession for honest livelihood, Shāh Tajalli, as a practicing Sufī, was a skilled goldsmith, ironsmith and carpenter, apart from his knowledge of other forms of craft and industry. Whether understood as *ḥalāl* earnings or as hobbies, Ghulām Ḥusain Khān Jauhar also mentions his accomplishments in *Gulzār-e-Aṣāfīa*.

Sarvari notes that the first mention of Shāh Tajallī 'Ali occurs in *Majmū'e Naghz* compiled by Mīr Qudratullah Qāsim in 1221H/about 1810 A.D. Qāsim mentions him as a good and enlightened character and among the well-known dervishes of Hyderabad.

The author Shāh Tajallī 'Ali as painter

Begun in 1771 and completed in 1793, the writing of the *Tuzuk-e-Āṣafīa* nearly coincides with the reign of its patron and subject.¹⁷ Shāh Tajallī 'Ali was a multi-faceted personality at the court of Āṣaf Jāh II. In addition to being the court historian and painter, as already mentioned, he was also a noted calligrapher and poet, editing two volumes of verse under the *takhallus* Zahad.¹⁸ Shāh Tajallī 'Ali was a Sufī of the Chishtiyya order. The entry on Tajallī 'Ali Shāh, by Nabī Hādī in the *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*,¹⁹ while fallaciously giving the date of his death as 1792, notes that he was "trained by the pious and talented saint, Shāh Mu'in Tajallī, from whom he obviously borrowed the title and the pen name." Tajallī 'Ali also developed a style of calligraphy he named after his preceptor as the *Khat-e-Mu'inna*.

Among all the extant copies of the *Tuzuk-e-Āṣafīa*, the National Museum copy, to be considered here, is perhaps the earliest and the only one that is illustrated. There are 78 large miniatures that accompany the text. They are very unusual

paintings, in their size, unconventional composition and distinctive palette. However, with the colophon of this manuscript missing, we have no mention of who painted these images. Although his paintings are referred to in several contemporary texts, including his own, no surviving paintings can be attributed to him with any certainty. Mohammad Ashraf has suggested that the paintings in the National Museum manuscript were by the author, but he does not substantiate the suggestion. He has however conclusively shown that the calligrapher of the manuscript was Shāh Tajallī, through a comparative study of other calligraphic work attributed to him.²⁰ This manuscript being an autograph copy, it is only logical to assume, in view of Shāh Tajallī's renown as a painter, that he would certainly have had a hand in its painting. The internal evidence of the text, as I shall show further on, also suggests that it was painted by the author, albeit with assistance, given the scale of the project.

In *Aḥed-e-Aristu Jāh*, Lā'q ṣalaḥ writes that it was under the patronage of Aristu Jāh, that Shāh Tajallī 'Ali completed the manuscript of *Tuzuk-e-Āṣafia* in 1208 H or 1793 A.D. Shāh Tajallī 'Ali presented the manuscript at the court of Niẓām 'Ali Khān Āṣaf Jāh II for his perusal. He was granted appreciation and remuneration from the court. She notes that Tajallī 'Ali was considerably rewarded upon presenting this work. He received a sum of fifty thousand Rupees from the *umarā*, including Aristu Jāh, who was then the *dīvān*. Rāja Raghottam Rao, who was *peshkāṛ*, commissioned this work to be calligraphed in Nasta'liq and illustrated with depictions of courtly and military activities. He also spent an additional three thousand Rupees on his

own account to have it illuminated in gold. When this manuscript was completed it was presented to the royal library. From this account the National Museum copy appears to be the royal codex.

If Tajallī 'Alī had conceived the *Tuzuk-e-Aṣafīa* as an illustrated history, he would have composed the history simultaneously as painted and written narrative. Although we know that Shāh Tajallī first presented the history in writing and the paintings were later commissioned and appended to the text, it cannot be ruled out that he may have visualized a painted narrative even as he wrote it. However, if the painter was other than Shāh Tajallī, had the painter/s read the narrative? How did they transmute this history into images? These are clearly not stock images but were construed around the written narrative and are intimately connected to it. The artists would have had to be conversant with the details of Tajallī 'Alī's narrative, to be able to illustrate them. The artist/s would also have had to have easy access to the *Nizām*, to be familiar with his activities, as these closely observed painted representations of the personal world of *Nizām 'Alī Khān* show.

A careful examination of the manuscript reveals the paintings to have been composed and outlined in tandem with the calligraphy of the text. It is possible that the pages to be calligraphed were marked off and the layout of the paintings planned, including the scenes to be illustrated. The initial drawing and composition of the paintings was executed prior to the writing of the text. In several places, where the text exceeded the stipulated fifteen lines to a page, it was continued onto the

page laid out for the painting. There are numerous instances of the text exceeding the space marked out for it and the painting being truncated in order to accommodate the text. When the outlines drawn were filled in with colour and the painting finished, traces of original unpainted drawing are perceptible sometimes, exceeding and straying out of the frame of the now finished painting. The outlines of the legs of various figures, or the hooves of a galloping horse are visible transgressing into the space of the written text.

This correlation between the calligraphy of the text and its painting in the production of the manuscript, once again suggests that Shāh Tajallī, who as noted by Mohammad Ashraf was the calligrapher in this instance, would certainly have directed the painting. It also appears very unlikely that when the author was himself a leading painter at the court, his manuscript should be entrusted to another painter or workshop.

The paintings of the *Tuzuk-e-Aṣafīa* reflect Shāh Tajallī's wide-ranging interests from astrological allusions to their cartographic qualities and the attention to detail of the events portrayed, that disclose an intimate understanding of contemporary court politics. He was also a politically savvy and keen follower of the events of his time.²¹ In this respect, the paintings tally with similar concerns that inform Tajallī's writing. As an erudite, scholarly painter, we find imagery drawn from poetry and literature.

The internal evidence of the manuscript and the comparative study of all the paintings that are part

of the Tuzuk-e-Aṣafia suggest the development of a single hand with compositions, that were relatively conventional to begin with, becoming extraordinarily supple in their conception and painterly treatment. There is a loosening of visual thinking and an explorative and innovative approach to the events painted in the later part of the manuscript. The liberties taken in the paintings, not only in transgressing the margins, but in including landscape or other details on a whim and not entirely dictated by the text, indicate Shāh Tajallī as the painter in control of his manuscript.

In several places in the manuscript, Shāh Tajallī refers to his work as a painter. In one instance he records being commissioned to paint a portrait of Āṣaf Jāh II on the occasion of *Naurūz* 1782. Tajallī writes that by the order of His Highness he made a series of portrait studies of Nizām 'Alī Khān in a rare style, and through Shams al-daulah Bahādur, he made a painting of Nizām 'Alī Khān at this same magnificent *jashn* (of *Naurūz*) with the coquettish and exquisite courtesans. In a rare insight into a pre-colonial painter's encounter with European techniques and materials, Tajallī notes that he made this painting using the pigments of the European painters in their colourful box (*ba rang-e-muṣavvirān-e-firang dar sandūq-e-rangārang*). He writes the painting was applauded by the connoisseurs and was the source of favours and rewards.²² While we know that it was made using European materials, the painting itself no longer survives, and it cannot be ascertained to what extent it was influenced by European styles or its realism derived from European ideas of realism.

Tajallī's narration is textured with autobiographical detail, astrological insights, literary and topographical information, theological reflection and he often refers to his Sufic training. In many instances the prose narrative dissolves into poetry and the text is enriched with extraordinary descriptive detail, a keen eye for colour, and imagery that verges on the visual, anticipating its painting.

We rarely have such an instance where the author has translated his record of an event in words into a painted record, with both having parallel lives in one text. It is not a painter's reading and re-imagining of an event based on its representation in words, but a near simultaneous process. Tajallī's work draws both upon current painterly and writerly modes of representation, each approximating the other. There are instances in the text, where his writing creates a tableau, even spelling out details of colour. However, while words can evoke visuality, images represent visual perception. The events also appear to be mapped as much as imaged in the painting. Representation, throughout the *Tuzuk-e-Aṣafia*, depends on a triangular process of writing, painting and mapping. Tajallī straddles the different worlds of representation, opening each out to the other in a symbiotic relationship.

A brief analysis of paintings in the Tuzuk-e-Aṣafia

In addition to its political relevance, Shāh Tajallī's narrative is also of social and cultural significance. A number of other concerns, spatial, urban, economic, military, and a wealth of cultural

detail – from papermaking to textiles and fireworks – also inform the work, giving a broad view of this pre-colonial world. The *Tuzuk-e-Aṣafīa* reflects the wide-ranging interests of its author.

The paintings of the *Tuzuk-e-Āṣafīa* also deal with a range of events of courtly and military significance. Tracing the Central Asian origins of the dynasty, the first two paintings on the third and fourth folios of this manuscript, opening as a double spread, both portray Khvāja 'Ābid Khan, the grandfather of Niẓām al-mulk Āṣaf Jāh I, who established the Post-Mughal successor state of Hyderabad. Khvāja 'Ābid was among the leading nobles of Mughal emperor Aurangzeb's reign. The visual narrative then portrays his son, Ghāzī al-dīn Khān Ferūz Jung, who also held positions of power and influence at Aurangzeb's court, before going on to deal with the career of Niẓām al-mulk, detailing the series of battles he fought to stake his claim to independent rule in the Deccan. One of these battles was fought against his own son, Nāṣir Jung, who rebelled against him, pictured in the manuscript as a double-spread, with father and son facing each other on adjoining pages.²³

The succession struggles among his heirs, after the death of Āṣaf Jāh I, which also involved the rising colonial powers in the region, the English and particularly, the French, are the focus of the next few paintings. These paintings also reveal the early life of Mīr Niẓām 'Alī Khān, until his accession as Āṣaf Jāh II. The remainder of the paintings in the manuscript deal with the events of his reign.

Through the sequential pictorialization of key events in the career of Nizām 'Ali Khān, the paintings of the Tuzuk-e-Aṣafīa visually construct a coherent historical narrative. Having pictorially established the antecedents of dynastic power, the visual narrative now focuses on Mīr Nizām 'Ali Khān, who through repeated portrayal, emerges as the central subject of this narrative. The paintings build a heroic narrative through the visualization of the biographical development of the person, character and career of Nizām 'Ali Khān in the context of the visual narrative of contemporary historical events impacting it.

It was during the reign of Nizām 'Ali Khān Āṣaf Jāh II that Hyderabad entered a phase of urban renewal. His long reign marked a period of comparative stability and economic prosperity, leading to the development of the arts. Unlike Nizām al-mulk, Āṣaf Jāh II was an avid patron of the arts. Painting, music, poetry, architecture, gardening and other arts thrived, as Hyderabad emerged as the political and cultural centre of the Deccan.

Of all the Āṣaf Jāhi rulers, Nizām 'Ali Khān Āṣaf Jāh II was perhaps the keenest patron of painting. There certainly was a great deal of encouragement from the Nizām's court as well as from his subordinates, in view of the abundance of production of paintings during this period. Shāh Tajallī 'Ali and Venkatachallam were among the leading painters of the time, who had considerable influence on the development of Hyderabad painting. Painting at the Āṣaf Jāhi court had evolved into a distinctive style by the late eighteenth

century, drawing upon both the late Mughal and Deccani schools. While the paintings of the *Tuzuk-e-Aṣāfiā* reflect these stylistic developments, they also include extraordinary paintings, combining unusual perspectives and imagery, with a closely observed portrayal of events. Remarkable in the context of eighteenth-century painting in India, some of these paintings are discussed below.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the paintings of the *Tuzuk-e-Aṣāfiā* is their cartographic quality. The paintings in this manuscript often include careful delineations of place as inset, that are map-like in detail. Many of the paintings of the *Tuzuk-e-Āṣafīā* amount to images within maps and maps within images. Plans and maps of cities and forts are woven into representations of battles and other events. Everyday lives and practices are plotted into these maps.

The most remarkable of these is the miniature map of the city of Hyderabad on page 163, with three foldout sections (see fig. 1). This is a painting that metamorphoses into a map, and a map that inhabits the space of the painting. The painting maps the walled city as a spatial unit and establishes its relation to the two other sites depicted as *dūr-numa* in the painting. Painted on the horizon, the two sites of the Golconda fort and the Koh-e-Maula 'Ali were also topographically on higher ground than the walled city. The 'spatial units' that in turn make up the map of the walled city include the Āṣaf Jāhi court, the carefully delineated palace complexes and gardens of the nobility, enclosed within high walls with imposing *naqqārkhāna*

gates, the bustling axial roads of the city, running east-west and north-south, dividing the city into four quarters, and intersecting at the Chārminār, its monumental markers, its many neighborhoods, markets, squares, mosques and dargāhs. The Chārminār and the Mecca masjid to its west continue to tower over the walled city. The map, although not to scale, is an accurate pictorial description of late eighteenth-century Hyderabad. Note for instance all the twenty-two arches of the *Purāna Pul*, the old Quṭb Shāhi period bridge, precisely depicted.²⁴

The city is minutely mapped around the representation of the central event in the painting, the durbar of Āṣaf Jāh II, highlighted and given prominence in the larger proportions of its depiction. Āṣaf Jāh II is portrayed receiving the first British envoy to his court, in the Chaumaḥalla palace complex, at the instance of his minister, Rukn al-daulah, who is seated behind him in this painting holding the *morchal* (peacock-feather fly whisk). The city is shown centered in the court and court society. The representation of everyday life in the streets and the life at court intersect to convey an idea of the life of the city as enunciated spatially. There is no corresponding account of the city in the text of the *Tuzuk-e-Āṣafīa* to the vivid cartographic description of Hyderabad in figure 1. The text of the chapter the map appears in only narrates the event painted as inset.²⁵

The *Tuzuk-e-Āṣafīa* is in so many respects a military history with war as a constant leitmotif of its painted narrative. The visual representations of war in the *Tuzuk-e-Āṣafīa* trace the military

engagements of the Āṣaf Jāhi state in the eighteenth century. A number of paintings of the *Tuzuk-e-Āṣafia* are a cartographic elucidation of the site of war, with detailed inscriptions of camp life.

Hyderabad was invested numerous times in the eighteenth-century, notably by the French under Bussy in 1756 and the Marathas under Raghunath Rao in 1763. The upper part of the painting in figure 2 depicts Bussy's occupation of Hyderabad.²⁶ Dismissed by Salābat Jung, Bussy, on his retreat to the Circars with his small force encamped at Gosha Maḥal, just outside the walls of the city and requested the governor of Hyderabad for entry for forage and other necessities, his excuse for the halt being the onset of the monsoon and the difficulties in fording the Krishna. Gaining access to the city and following the murder of its deputy governor, Bussy took possession of Hyderabad entrenching himself within the high walls surrounding the Chāрмаḥal in the northwestern quarter. In the course of the siege that lasted two months until the end of August, Bussy also occupied the Chārminār. From their positions of height in the city, the French attacked the besieging forces of the Nizam, sent to retake the city. With Bussy hard pressed in the city by the Āṣafiya forces, a relief force was sent under Law and Saubinet; and the action fought in the foreground of figure 2, is between them and the Āṣafiya forces on the outskirts of Hyderabad. In a letter to Leyrit, Bussy relates that Saubinet formed a square battalion with his troops "and they marched on thus to Hiatnagar which is at four cosses from Hyderabad".²⁷ This description in Bussy's letter tallies with the visual description of the battle in figure 2, with the French

troops shown formed in a square battalion, in the painting.

In this rudimentary map-like rendition of Hyderabad, representation is restricted only to those structures that indicated the identity of the city such as the Chārminār, Mecca masjid, and the Chār Kamān; or the idea of a city in the numerous thatched dwellings and a few *maḥal*-like buildings; or those that were of relevance to the action described below, such as the bastions of the fortified walls of the city mounted by cannon, manned by Bussy's troops, and other elevated positions of attack within the city. However, the Chāрмаḥal complex, which was the center of French operations in the city, is not clearly shown. If the two pictographically rendered Maḥal-motifs represent the nawāb's maḥal (Chaumaḥalla) to the south and the Chāрмаḥal to the north, they are inaccurately located. This map does not aspire to the visual accuracy of the one in figure 1. Details related to the siege, such as the ladders going up to the bastions, are however clearly shown. The Musi River, with the Purāna Pul across it separates this pictorial map from the foreground, where the battle between Salābat Jung's forces and the French reinforcements from Pondicherry has been painted. This painting is an instance of the mapping of the visual narrative of war on to the cartographic representation of a city.

A representation of Tipu Sultan besieging the Adoni fort, under the Nizām's control encompasses of the place and space of war (see fig. 3). The fortress occupies the upper right of the painting, with the battle raging in the centre of the picture

plane. Tipu's army, uniformed in their distinctive tiger stripes, surrounds and bombards the fort. A portrait of Tipu, seated on an elephant caparisoned in yellow, with his cavalry and details of his camp occupy the lower third of the painting.

The paintings of the Tuzuk-e-Aṣafia have been described as depicting *razm o bazm* or war and courtly life.²⁸ A painting representing the intersection of private and courtly life shows Nizām 'Ali Khān Āṣaf Jāh II on a hunt with the ladies of his *zenāna* (fig. 4). It is a painting in two registers, separated by day and night. The upper half of the painting is a lively scene of the course of the day's hunt in the enclosed grounds of the *shikārgāh*. His wives joined the hunt on horseback or on elephants. The Nizam, accompanied by his courtiers and musicians, is seated under a canopy in the lower half of the painting, at night, presumably relaxing after the day's hunt.

An unusually conceived palace scene shows Nizām 'Ali Khān seated in the minister's *divānkhāna* with Arisṭu Jāh and Ashja al-mulk early in the day for the *Rang-pashi* ceremony represented in the painting in figure 5. Tegh Jung, holding the morchal is seated behind him. Shāh Tajallī writes that the Nizam, with the principal members of his *Maḥallāt* (harem), visited the residence of Mushīr al-mulk Arisṭu Jāh for the ceremonies connected to the wedding of Māle Miān, Arisṭu Jāh's son with Farzand Begum, the daughter of Ashja al-mulk.²⁹ He accepted a *nazr* of a tray of jewels, two trays of textiles and fifty thousand rupees. The space of the ceremony in the minister's palace is represented in unusual perspective extending beyond the margins

of the painting. An aerial perspective combined with an eyewitness view brings together the spatial representation of the architecture with the intricate portraiture and depiction of the event in the courtyard of the *dīvānkhāna*. In a haze of colour-spray the guests are portrayed standing around the central fountain, while parties of musicians, singers and dancers perform at the ceremony. Beautiful young courtesans fill their *pichkāris* from large urns of coloured water and as Tajalli describes, "...with the men and women drowned in colour, spring appeared to erupt anew".³⁰ Members of the *zenāna* although mentioned in the text, are not shown in the painting. Arisṭu Jāh was an important patron of Shāh Tajallī 'Alī, who was an intimate member of the minister's *darbar*, and the description of the wedding is given as an eyewitness.

These and other paintings of the Tuzuk-e-Aṣafīa reveal the intricate relationship between painting and history in the context of Āṣaf Jāhi Hyderabad. The episodic, narrative nature of manuscript painting is connected to a parallel text in words, and must be analyzed in conjunction with the text it is embedded in. At the same time, the painting of this text follows its own representational requirements, whose narrative delineation and visually dependent structure reveal different historical dimensions. The visual production of history develops a visual understanding of the past, in addition to its rational cognition from historical writing.

References:

- 1 Inv. no. 59. 138. The manuscript is undated, with the colophon missing.
- 2 It was presented at that court in 1793. See the entry on the Tuzuk-e-Aṣafīa in *A Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Sālār Jung Museum and Library*, compiled by Muhammad Ashraf (Hyderabad: Sālār Jung Museum and Library, 1966), 435-440; See also Lā'q ṣalaḥ, *Aḥed-e-Aristu Jāh* (Hyderabad: Shugufa Publications, 1986), 192.
- 3 London, 1927, 749
- 4 See p. 119.
- 5 Deccani Kalams'. *Marg* 16. 2 (1963).
- 6 (New Delhi: Manohar), 190
- 7 Ed. Barbara Schmitz (Bombay: Marg, 2002), 63-65.
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22 Tuzuk-e-Aṣāfiā, Inv. no. 59. 138, National Museum, p. 233.

23 Tuzuk-e-Aṣāfiā, Inv. no. 59. 138, National Museum, folios 8v & 9.

24 See Bilgrami, *Landmarks*, 11. Built in 1578, in the period of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh while the city was still being planned. The map shows the masonry walls of the old bridge intact, before being replaced by the pierced Ashlar stone railing in the reign of the sixth Nizām, following the catastrophic 1908 flood.

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RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES DURING QUTB SHAHS

Tehseen Bilgrami

The religious festivals celebrated during the Qutb Shahi period served as an instrument to achieve the purpose around which the religious policy of the Qutb Shahs was drawn. They helped them to create harmony in society, sharing each other's joys and sorrows and tolerating each other's religious traditions, beliefs and customs. It speaks of the wisdom of the Qutb Shahs that they were successful in using these occasions without hurting the feelings of any section of the society. They neither interfered with the established traditions of the festivals nor tried to interfere with the religious duties. Instead they created a culture around them which was flexible in nature and could accommodate the socio-religious values, customs and traditions of all those who constituted the Golconda society. .

A religious festival serves two purposes i.e., social and religious. Eid for example starts with prayers, a purely religious duty but then it also an occasion to celebrate. The wearing of new clothes, preparation of sweets, meeting people and visiting relatives and friends are all social activities. This holds good even for Hindu festivals.

The policy that the Qutb Shahs adopted was simple to understand. They never compelled any one to participate in a

purely religious duty if he did not like to do so. Instead, they universalized the social traditions of the religious festivals and invited people irrespective of religion, caste or creed to participate in them. To mention one, the most important festival of Muharram, was celebrated by all the sections of the society irrespective of religion or sect. But the sanctity of the Alams at Ashur Khanas, the presentation of Nazr, Lunge etc., were all universalized. Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmed, while confirming this, writes that these traditions were observed both by Muslim and Hindus throughout the Kingdom. The whole population whether Muslim or non Muslim used to pay homage to Ashur Khanas and while doing so the differences of culture religion and caste were forgotten.

Most of the ceremonies of Muharram were indianized, for example the Swang, the practice of disguising oneself as tiger, lion, monkey etc., was clearly an Indian practice. The practice of Rang in which people painted their bodies with different colour and reciting the poems came to the Ashur Khanas, in groups was adopted from Maharashtra. In Maharashtra people painted their bodies during the Holi festival and formed themselves in groups, going from place to place and reciting the poems, describing the deeds of their forefathers. It was not just Muharram alone that the Qutb Shahs practiced this, but for all the important religious festivals of Hindus and Muslims this practice was retained.

The Basant which is a purely Hindu festival was celebrated on a grand scale. The Qutb Shahs not only patronized the celebrations but actively took part in them. Mirag, likewise, was celebrated with great pomp and enthusiasm. The money spent on these occasions was substantial, which is evident from reading through the accounts of ceremonies and the preparations mentioned in various authoritative texts.

The amount distributed as charities on these occasions were not confined to the people of any particular sect, caste or creed,

but were meant for the poor and the needy. This must have enabled the poor to join those, having means, to celebrate the festivals. The Sultans followed this policy and on every such occasion they gave a chance to their subjects to join them. Every festival under royal patronage therefore became a public affair. The people participated in them along with the Sultans, to the best of their abilities. The large crowds which congregated during these ceremonies in and around the palaces testify this. The zeal of the Qutb Shahs, more so of Muhammad Quli and Abdullah Qutb Shah, is evident from the fact that both of them wrote a number of poems about these festivals describing minute details of the ceremonies.

Festivals:

The study reveals that there were fourteen such festivals which were patronized by the Sultan.

1. Muharram 2. Milad-un-Nabi 3. Byasat-un-Nabi 4. Eid-ul-Fitr 5. Maulud-e-Ali 6. Eid-Suri 7. Eid-uz-Zuha 8. Shabb-e-Barat 9. Eid-Ghadeer 10. Nav Roz 11. Basant 12. Birthday of the Sultan 13. Miraj 14. Shab-e-Mairaj

Among these the only one which was non-religious, was the birthday ceremony of the Sultan. Two of these were the festivals of the non-Muslims and the remaining were of the Muslims. The Muslim festivals were celebrated by all Muslims, though the importance attached to them varies. Among the list of the festivals, there was one festival, Nav Roz which was Persian. The New Year day of the Persian calendar, which coincides with twenty first March of the Christian era, was celebrated in Iran on a large scale. The Qutb Shahs adopted it in Golconda, and like other festivals, indianized the ceremonies associated with it.

Muharram during the Qutb Shahi period:

The first month of the Hijra Calendar is Muharram. But the importance of Muharram is not because of this. It was on the tenth of this month that the great tragedy of Karbala took place.

Fortunately we have accounts of Muharram ceremonies of Abdullah Qutb Shah's period, recorded by Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmed in *Hadiquat-us-Salatin*. Though he describes Muharram as it was observed during one reign, yet we have enough evidences to believe that what Abdullah Qutb Shah practiced was the tradition of his predecessors. These traditions were also followed in perfect solemnity after him by his successors.

According to him, the Sultan used to wear black costume. Beating of Tabla, Naqaras, Damme and Khos were stopped. The musical instruments were placed in their containers and no music was played and no dance performed. People belonging to all the sections of the society abstained from eating meat or drinking liquor. Even *Pan*, so very common among the people, was not chewed. Black costumes were distributed to all the employees. Fourteen Alams made of Gold and studded with jewels were raised in Baad Shahi Ashur Khana near the royal palace. The Ashur Khana was decorated with 10,000 lamps decked in ten rows. The Sultan used to light them, one row during each night, so that on 10th night the total number of 10,000 lamps got illuminated.

The people throughout the Golconda empire raise Alams during the Muharram days, in accordance with the orders of the Sultan in their Chowries and Dewan Khanas.

The environment in which the events were described was dakhni, the articles, the costumes, jewellery etc. mentioned in them were also Dakhni.

This goes to confirm the view that the Qutb Shahs universalized the traditions and customs around the religious ceremonies, to help the people of their Kingdom to participate in them irrespective

of their religion, caste or creed.

The royal patronage and the participation of the Sultans and nobles made Muharram an occasion of great importance to the Muslims. But it was just not the Muslim population of the empire which celebrated it, the Hindus too participated in it; not only in the cities and towns but also in the villages. Muharram was celebrated in almost all the villages of the Qutb Shahi Empire, with the same spirit of piety and enthusiasm.

The Qutb Shahs did not try to impose any restriction over the diversified ways of its celebration. They did not force the people to abide by the rules laid down for it in their religion. Instead they universalized the social customs associated with it. They knew that neither the non-Muslims could be brought into the mosque and invited to participate in the prayer, nor the Muslims could participate in the prayers inside the temple. The celebrations of Muharram founded by the Qutb Shahs and established in every part of their Kingdom have become a tradition of the people, and still exist to this day as it used to be during the Qutb Shahi period.

Milad-un-Nabi during the Qutb Shahi period:

The ceremonies performed on the birthday of Prophet Muhammad are known as Milad-un-Nabi. The Qutb Shahs celebrated it on a grand scale, in their own style of pomp and luxury. A huge amount was spent before and after the festival. During the month of Rabi-ul-Awal, for the celebrations of Milad-un-Nabi, one lakh Huns were spent on incense, food and alms giving. In addition to this every year one lakh Huns were set apart for charities to the poor and the needy. The details of the celebrations during the early Qutb Shahs are not available. Nevertheless we do have some accounts describing the celebrations. The source of information of the period of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah is his own poems. Naturally there

can be no better source, as the poems written by the Sultan, not only give us the account of the ceremonies but also the evidence of his participation in the festival.

The Eid-e-Milad-un-Nabi was a great occasion, for every one right from Sultan to Faqir. They celebrated it in great spirit. It appeared as if the whole city of Golconda was in a mood of joy and happiness. It appears as if the clouds of joy and pleasure have covered the whole atmosphere,

The festivities continued until the last day of the month when the Sultan came out of the palace in a procession. For the occasion, a special elephant was washed with Zafran and Sandal and decorated with golden chain, pearls and stud Kalhgi. The procession started in the evening and was accompanied by nobles, sardars, wazirs, hawaldars, slahdars and soldiers. They all walked along the way with the elephant. The dancing girls wearing special type of costumes, which were given to them, performed in front of the elephant. To watch the royal procession people thronged in large numbers in Bazaars. The royal procession started from the Maidan at Charkaman reached Dilkusha Maidan of Dad Mahel, via the Charminar, it stopped at chowk and Kotwali for a short while. The officers here made offerings of gold and jewels to the Sultan and also presented him Nazr. The traders of the area presented their choicest art wares as Nazr and received royal recognition.

It indeed was a great occasion of the people of the Golconda Kingdom. They whole heartedly participated in all the proceedings of the celebrations, which costed thirty thousand Huns to the royal treasury.

There is yet another poem in which Abdullah Qutb Shah has eulogized his court, its splendor. He believes that even the Heaven is envious of its grandeur. He believes that when Milad comes, the world glitters; because of the Noor of the Prophet.

Basant

Basant, as the festival is called, is really a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word Vasant, which means the first crop of the year. The historical records shows that Vasant which was known as Vasant Utsav during the ancient past, was celebrated in our country in a very delightful manner:

The festival was equally popular in the Deccan, Vasant Panchami as it was called during the early medieval period, was considered to be a very auspicious day. They performed Devi Pooja and other Upasanas of Magha Navaratri period. On the astrological side, Vasant has been declared by the scriptures to be of a very auspicious character. The festival of Vasant heralds the onset of spring and on this occasion, the God of love Kama and his friend Vasant are worshiped. Vasant is regarded as the foremost of festivals.

God of Spring

The festival of Basant therefore became a festival of both the Muslims and Hindus.

It was Muhammad Quli who started celebrating the Basant festival in the Golconda Kingdom because it suited the purpose for which the Qutb Shahs were working. In addition to this he wanted to identify himself with Dakhnies and their traditions.

According to Muhammad Quli, Basant brought along with it joy and pleasure to the Sultan and the people. Inside the palaces and in the gardens, heaps of flowers were collected. The tanks were filled with colors. Muhammad Quli along with the Harem and a band of selected girls spent his day celebrating the festival. Because of the Basant, every house is full of pearls and Yaquuts. It appears, as if Basant has made even the poor rich.

The involvement of Qutb Shahs in a festival which belonged to the Hindus that too on a grand scale, does speak of their broad

mindedness and confirms their attitude of religious tolerance.

Eid-ul-Fitr

Eid-ul-Fitr usually called Ramzan-ki Eid. Eid-ul-Fitr is celebrated, when the moon of the month of Shawal is sighted. Ramazan is a holy month for Muslims in which they fast every day from dawn to dusk. During this month every Muslim prays solemnly with great fervour. When the month comes to an end, in this atmosphere of piety, the Muslims celebrate the Eid. According to the religious code, the Eid starts with the prayers performed at a central place often on the outskirts of the populated area called Eid gah.

After or before the prayer every Muslim, who can afford, has to pay a charity known as Fitra. This can be paid in cash or kind and has to be distributed among the poor and the needy. The tradition of Eid is wearing of new clothes, meeting relatives and friends, serving guests with sweets.

The Qutb Shahs followed their policy of universalisation of the traditions.. Even Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, who is known for his love of luxuries, fasted all through the month of Ramzan. Eid was awaited anxiously both by the Sultan and the people. The preparations for it started about fifteen days in advance. Women bought new clothes and new bangles. Soon, as the new moon of the month of Shawal was sighted the rejoicing for Eid started. Early in the morning people took bath, wore new clothes, took their meals and started for Eidgah for prayers. The Eidgah would be full of people and appeared like a vast sea of people.

Soon after the Eid prayer was over, the Khateeb ascended the Mimber. The Qutba and prayers were offered for the life and prosperity of the Sultan. After the Qutba was over, the nobles and others paid their homage to the Sultan. The Sultan later returned to his palace in procession. The people then embraced each other

in their traditional styles.

In the afternoon, the court was held by the Sultan, which was attended by the Jagirdars, nobles and the Ulema. On behalf of the Sultan every one was rewarded according to his status. Some were granted Jagirs, some got enhancement in their salaries, some were appointed to important posts, some got weapons, horses, elephants, etc. Every one present in the Darbar was served with Sheerkhurma. Pan and Itar. They then left the Darbar. The atmosphere of the Eid remained charged for four to five days. In many houses the Eid festivities included dance parties.

A large number of Hindus embraced their Muslim friends and visited them to offer their greetings on the occasion. The practice still continues and can be seen even today in the city and outskirts.

The customs and traditions established by Qutb Shahs during their period have not changed much yet. Even now we see the same atmosphere of joy as Eid arrives. Even the preparations of the Eid like sheerkhorma remain the same which now has become an integral of part of Eid.

Eid-uz-Zuha

'Eid-uz'-Zuha usually called as Bakreed is another festival of great importance among the Muslims all over the world. Eid is meant to commemorate the sacrifice of Prophet Ibrahim. He saw in his dream that he was slaughtering his son, Ismail, in the name of God. Ibrahim got up and told Ismail about his dream; Ismail accepted the sacrifice and asked his father to obey the command of Allah. Both father and son came out of the house to perform the sacrifice. Prophet Ibrahim tied a piece of cloth over his eyes as he thought it might not be possible for him to see Ismail getting slaughtered. He kept the knife over the throat of Ismail and uttering the name of Allah pierced it through. Allah replaced Ismail with a sheep which got slaughtered with the knife. Prophet Ibrahim

thought that his Qurbani was not accepted by Allah. But Allah informed him that his Qurbani was accepted and praised his great deed.

Eid is meant to commemorate this event. The slaughter of an animal is compulsory for Muslims. According to the religious law, one third of the meat should be distributed among the poor and the needy preferably of the locality, another one third should be given to the poor relatives and the remaining should be used by the person, to perform sacrifice.

It is obvious that the Muslims of the Qutb Shahi period celebrated Eid as it was required by religion.. The Sultan used to organize a gathering of his nobles in the evening. The Darbar was decorated with flowers and was profusely illuminated. Nobles were served with excellent preparations of meat.

Eid-e-Qurban thus was a great occasion, which had both the values viz. religious and social. The Qutb Shahs, as their practice was, celebrated Eid in a fitting manner and associated themselves with their subjects.

Mirag

Mirag is celebrated when the rainy season arrives, after the summer season. It is actually the festival of the peasants and farmers. The cultivation in most parts of Deccan depends on natural sources. Therefore the rain is the backbone of the economy. The festival is the expression of joy and happiness on the arrival of the rain. Though its celebrations are more coloured and enthusiastic in villages. Yet the people in the cities and towns also celebrate it with joy.

Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah picked up this festival and celebrated it on a grand scale to identify himself with the common men in villages.

It also suited his taste and temperament as the occasion brought

with it the required atmosphere of fun and frolic. The palace was fully decorated to suit the occasion. Green carpets were laid out over the floor. This charged the atmosphere with the spirit of joy and mirth.

Nav Roz

Nav Roz or the New Year day, according to the astronomical calculations, is an important festival for two reasons. Firstly it is believed by the astrologers that the sun after traveling through its twelve Burjes reaches the equator on this day. It restarts the journey again from this point. Therefore every year star will be in its Burj. The astrologers therefore can forecast correctly the events of the future.

The hour at which the sun enters into its Burj is considered to be pious. It is believed that during this hour the prayers are answered, if performed with the devotion and piety. The festival is generally believed to be Persian in origin because it is celebrated with more enthusiasm there than in any other country of the world. Unfortunately no details of the ceremonies are available except the poems of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah written on the occasion. His poems describe the importance of Nav Roz as per the Astrology. He has used the terms of Astrology freely in his poems and has shown the importance of the festival on this account.

The festival was celebrated with the usual show of pomp and luxury. The grand Darbar was held and the nobles attended it. The Nav Roz festival, considered to be Persian in origin, when introduced to the Deccan by the Qutb Shahs, was celebrated in a fashion suited to the cultural norms of the Dakhnies.

Eid Milad-e-Ali

The birthday celebration of Hazrat Ali which falls on thirteenth Rajab is an occasion of great importance to the Muslims. The

Shias in particular celebrate it and consider it as a major Eid.

The Qutb Shahs more so Muhammad Quli was a great devotee of Hazrat Ali. On one of the inscriptions of Baad Shahi Ashur Khana, his name appears with the prefix Gulam-e-Ali which shows his devotion. He therefore celebrated it with great enthusiasm.

Unfortunately, we do not have detailed accounts of it. What could be collected from his poems goes to say that the Milad was celebrated with solemnity. People recited Qasidas written for the occasion, in their gatherings. They sprinkled colours over each other and enjoyed. Sweets were prepared and distributed among the people.

Ghadeer

Ghadeer actually was the name of a place close to Jajafa near Mecca. The Qutb Shahis celebrated Ghadeer as a major festival. Muhammad Quli has written eight poems on the occasion. These poems mostly describe the religious importance of Ghadeer and his devotion to Hazrat Ali. The joy during this Eid overshadowed the pleasure of all other Eids. This Eid is considered auspicious for offering prayers by the people.

Shab-e-Barat

Shab-e-Barat, which falls on the night of fourteenth Shaban is an important festival of Muslims for many reasons. It is believed that Sura-e-Barat in Holy Quran confirms the importance of this night. The spirits of the dead people are given freedom to descend on to the earth. Therefore Muslims go to the grave yards during the day and perform Fateha over the graves of their departed relatives. They even offer Fateha over the food especially prepared for the occasion. The night is spent in prayers. The children burn crackers of various kinds during the night, besides these religious duties, which are common to almost all the sects of Islam.

The festival of lights, as it was known during the Qutb Shahi period, was celebrated in a grand style. The palaces were profusely illuminated, so as to give night resemblance of day. The poems depict the policy of Qutb Shahs which had under current of Hindu culture in the celebrations of this Eid. The decoration of the palaces with Deepa's, burning of crackers etc. were all Indian traditions. This must have resulted better participation of the people belonging to other religions and sects in the ceremony.

Conclusion:

The Muslim Institution of the Qutb Shahi Kingdom, the Mosques, the Khannas, the Dargahs of the sufi saints along with the religious festivals were important both as centers of religious importance and the institutions which promoted religious harmony in society. It was through the patronage of these institutions that the Qutb Sultans manifested their religious policy based on religious tolerance.

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PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN GOLCONDA

Najma Siddiq

”تانیامد سوی هندوستان حنارنگین نشه“

The beginning of Persian Language in the Deccan may be marked with the Bahmani occupation, in about 1363 A.D., when it was annexed to the kingdom, as a Subah called Tilang. The Bahmanis introduced Persian as an administrative language. The earlier Persian writing in the Deccan is perhaps an autograph of Sheikh Sirajuddin Junaidi, a Sufi Saint, who is told to have blessed Alauddin Hasan Gangu Bahmani Shah, the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, with the prophecy of his becoming a monarch. During a century and four score years of the Bahmani rule, Persian language made great strides in the Deccan.

As the true successors of Bahmani kingdom and the contemporary of Adil Shahi dynasty, there was an important Qutb Shahi dynasty, which ruled over Golconda for about two centuries. The founder of the kingdom, Sultan Quli Qutb Shah was born in Hamadan and belonged to the Qara Quyunlu tribe of trans-Oxonia.

He was one of the sufferers of the age long hostile relations of Aq- Quyunlu and Qara-Quyunlu Tribes. In his homeland, Iran, he was blessed with the prophecy of his becoming a king by a Sufi

Saint named, Shah Nooruddin Niamathullah-II.

The young ambitious Sultan Quli, came to the Deccan to try his luck, as he heard that India was a place, where valour, talent and noble character is duly valued. His services were availed by Sultan Mahmood Shah Bahmani in the Deccan. Gradually, he rose to the position of the Governor of Telangana. By that time, the entire Telugu speaking area of the Deccan was not under the sway of the Bahmanis, Sultan Quli learnt Telugu and re-constructed the administration in Telangana and introduced Persian as an administrative language. He was almost autonomous by 1512 A.D., but he declared his formal autonomy by 1518 A.D.

His successors Jamshid Quli and Shubhan Quli patronized literature and learning. Jamshid Quli established the territorial sovereignty. It was his brother and successor, Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah, who undid the weakened Vijayanagar kingdom and brought the entire Andhra Desa under his sway.

The kingdom was at its political Zenith during the reign of Sultan Mohammed Quli Qutb Shah and Sultan Mohammed Qutb Shah. It was the period when Shah Abbas, the great (1518-1629 A.D.) ruled over Iran and Akbar the great and Jahangir ruled over Hindustan. During this period the Persian language assumed a new character in India and Persia. The Shi'ite doctrine strongly prevailed in Iran and in the Deccan.

The reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah marks the beginning of political decadence of the Qutb Shahi kingdom, which was overshadowed by the Mughal imperialism. In 1636 A.D., Abdullah Qutb Shah had to execute a "Deed of Submission" to the Mughals and Golconda remained as Mughal tributary. Yet, the elite of Golconda happily indulged into the advancement of learning and literature, which contributed to Persian language.

The reign of Abul Hasan Qutb Shah is virtually more a political supposition than a fact. During which time the kingdom was

deteriorated and ultimately extinguished in 1687 A.D. and Abul Hasan Qutb Shah was taken as a prisoner.

There are much influence of Persians (Iranians) on politics, religion, culture, literature and architecture of Golconda. Now we find many literary evidences, which throw light on the cultural and diplomatic relations between the Persians and the Sultans of Golconda. These political and diplomatic letters of high administrative level, in Golconda are the product of the eminent men of letters, who hailed from Iran and possessed the important positions, such as Wakil-us-Sultanat, Sadr-e-Jahan, Malik-ul-Shuara, Malik-ul-Mashaiq and Mir Jumla, at the court of the kings of Golconda.

As most of the elite and the noble men of Golconda was drawn from Iran, it developed a great degree of cultural exchange between the two countries.

No doubt that most of the Poets, Epistolarians, Historiographers, Ulamas, Muftis, Physicians and others had been moving between India and Iran, making contributions to various disciplines. Some of the men of merits visited Golconda served there and contributed in Persian literature.

The development of Persian language and literature in Golconda was not an isolated growth, as the Socio-Political circumstances in the world around, particularly Iran, had a remarkable bearing on it. It is with this perspective Persian played an important role in Golconda and in turn, itself assumed a particular character.

Regarding the scope of employment, the Persian language in Golconda, it may be said, covered all walks of life. Though, this has been the language of the nobles and the intellectuals yet, it should not be overlooked that, it was also the language of administration.

The Persian literature produced during the Qutb Shahi kings covers all the aspects from pure literature comprising artistic prose

and poetry to the religious, historical, biographical, cyclopedic and medicinal literature as well as archives, epigraphy, seals and coins.

The Qutb Shahi monarchs were great lovers and patrons of Art and learning. Most of these rulers themselves composed verses in Persian and patronized the Persian poets and scholars to the extent that a considerable strength of poets and scholars had migrated to Golconda from the different parts of the world like Iran, Iraq, Turkey and other places. They contributed a good deal to the Persian literature.

Mohammed Quli Qutb Shah's period, the fifth king of this dynasty, was the most glorious chapter in the history of Persian literature in the Deccan. One of the great poets and ministers of his reign, Mir Mohammed Momin, while praising the king said:

گر صفهان نوشد از جهان عباس شاه
حیدرآباد از توشد شاه! صفهان نوی

(If Isfahan became new in the reign of Shah Abbas Shah (safawi). O king! You have changed the city of Hyderabad as beautiful as a new Isfahan).

(It is said that Isfahan is the most beautiful city of Iran).

Tarikh-e-Qutb Shahi, which is an authentic source of the Qutb Shahi dynasty, contained the information about the contribution made by the Qutb Shahi rulers, to Persian poetry. Apart from the monarchs Mir Mohammed Momin, Ruhul Amin, Ibn-e-Khattoon, Wajhi, Shareef Waqoo'i, Danish Mashhadi, Salik Yazdi, Mirak Moin Sabzwari and Majduddin Astarabadi are some of the great Persian poets of Golconda. Their poetic works are preserved in the Salar Jung Manuscript library of Hyderabad.

Insha or Epistolography is the foundation of all the literary prose in Persian language. The best of the artistic prose in Golconda

was represented through epistolography. It has been highly figurative and ornate prose found in the form of prefatory notes of books and documents. The classical tradition of Perso-Arabic rhetoric is found continued by the epistolographers and prose writers of Golconda. The writings of Abdul Ali Ta'lqani are the best example of classical art of the ornate prose of Golconda.

It is a fact that Persian prose in Golconda was wordy, imaginative and more emotional than poetry. The prose diction was predominantly Arabic in the beginning, but the ratio of Persian words gradually increased and the Arabic diction subsided. Floridity is the most prominent feature of literary prose of Golconda.

It may be a matter of surprise for a modern student that the literary Persian prose in Golconda was more saturated with emotional sentiments and imaginative thoughts, than the poetry itself. If a piece of prose and a piece of poetry of equal verbal strength are taken for test and analysed, the test pieces shall reveal that the imaginative and sentimental associations involved in a piece of prose overweigh the number of similar denotations in poetry. Compared to any prose, Qutb Shahi poetry is more real and less artificial, while the prose is more artificial and less real. There are instances where the poets had been aspiring for the attainment of the loftiness of prose in their poetry. A couplet from Mohammed Amin (Ruhul Amin), who was a poet as well as a prose writer may be quoted here:

با روح امین گوئی کہ اے خسرو ثانی
چون نثر بہ افلاک رسان حد سخن را

(Do tell Ruhul Amin that you are Khusro the second. Let your poetry reach the heavenly Loftiness of your prose).

Historiography constitutes a most significant branch of Persian prose, in regard to both its essence and volume during the reign of

Qutb Shahs. It unfailingly occupied the attention of later historians and scholars of Persian literature, than any other branch of Persian prose.

The scope of historiography ranged from contemporary regional history to the world history from the very beginning. The works relating to the former category (contemporary history) are quite original, while the works of the latter category (world history) are based on earlier sources.

Qutb Shahi historians paid more attention to political and cultural history, but very little to the civil and military administration and economic life of the people.

It is a fact that the language employed by the historians of Golconda is scholarly having the tone and diction of a professional historian on one hand and that of a creative artist on the other. The introductory portion of the chapters are usually ornate, reflecting upon the profound capacity of the historian to write purely literary prose and manifest the glory of his style. Some of the historians decorate their chapters with brief, glorify portions, while others try to maintain the same throughout their writing. Such portions definitely have sufficient literary merits as they are based on different literary techniques and excellent etymology.

The historians of Golconda we mean had those historians, who led their entire career in Golconda had contributed chronicles of varied nature and scope as:

1. Exclusively covering one period or the other of the dynastic history of Golconda.
2. World history including history of Golconda.
3. World history which may not include Golconda.

The facts contained in these works are generally authentic and relevant, but not totally free from anachronism. A comprehensive study reveals that the historians of Golconda are almost univocal,

when they presented informations about Golconda leaving some minor facts. Their anachronism is manifested when they narrated and controverted about the facts outside Golconda.

Many of the historians quoted the verses at short intervals in a way as one finds in the "Gulistan" of Sa'di Shirazi or similar works of classical literature.

Among the various historical works produced in Golconda "Tarikh-e-Sultan Mohammed Qutb Shah", popularly known as "Tarikh-e-Qutb Shahi" of an unknown author and "Hadiqat-ul-Salatin" of Nizamuddin Ahmed, serve the primary and authentic sources of Qutb Shahi dynasty. "Tarikh-e-Qutb Shahi" is based on the informations about ancestry and the beginning of the dynasty up to the fifth regnal year of Sultan Mohammed Qutb Shah. While "Hadiqat-ul-Salatin" covers all the events pertaining to Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah's reign only.

Religious literature covers the largest part of the total span of Persian prose produced in Golconda. The reasons for the excessive production of religious literature have been accounted in different ways by different observers. The fundamental reason, which has unanimously been agreed upon is the religious aspect of the Safawi revolution in Iran. This revolution emphasized on the propagation of Shi'a creed, for which there could not be any more effective instrument than literature.

The Qutb Shahi rulers professed Shi'a faith and showed a considerable interest in the spread of Shi'a faith in Golconda. Their efforts to this effect were of varied nature with a view to cover all the levels of society. This literature relates to the (Tafsir) interpretation of Qur'an, (Hadith) theology, (Fiqh) eschatology, (Aqua'id) Jurisprudence and (Adiya) prayers.

This literature is both interpretative and polemic. It is the branch of Persian literature, which explains the mind and personality of the Qutb Shahi elite and the factors governing the conduct of the

State. Apart from a number of translation works, "*Sawame-ul-malakoot*", "*Fiqh-e-Razvi*", "*Ayat-ul-Ahkam of Shah Qazi Yezdi*", "*Kitab-ul-Imamah*" of Ibn-e-Khatoon; "*Shajra-e-Danish*" of Hakim Nizamuddin Gilani; "*Tuhfat-ul-Ghara'ib*" and "*Tohfa-e-Maliki*" of Ali bin Taifur-al-bustami and "*Khirqe-e-Ulama*" written by Ibn-e-Imad Rozbhan are some of the famous original works of religious literature produced during the Qutb Shahi period.

The intellectual elite in Golconda was sufficiently conscious and responsive to the ideological developments in the contemporary world. Almost all important Roman, Greek, Arab and Iranian thinkers were introduced to Golconda society through Persian language.

The literature relating to philosophy, mysticism and ethics, though small in quantum, constituted the most significant part of Persian literature in Golconda, from the point of view that it was the literature which helped the appreciation of the actual mind of certain elite.

The Persian speaking intellectuals of Golconda were seen actively interested in contemporary scholastic philosophy of the Muslims. The intellectuals were mainly responsible for the transmission of scholastic reflections from the Middle-East to Golconda and propagating them in the Deccan. It may be ascertained that Golconda contribution to philosophic literature in Persian is virtually a contribution to religious philosophy. It is in this way philosophic literature is inter-disciplinary and goes hand in hand with theology, faith, eschatology, interpretation of Quran and other branches of Islamic studies. Therefore, the works relating to these branches bear chapter on information or other types of material on philosophy in Golconda. Further, some works of encyclopedic scope also includes chapters on philosophy or discussions of philosophic nature.

Mysticism both in theory and practice had a fairly long history

in Golconda. Contribution to this discipline was made by the Sufi Saints, who were supposed to have the knowledge of mystic doctrine by theoretical as well as actual mystic practices. On the other hand, contributions were also made by scholarly persons who could have hardly led the life of a Sufi.

"Danish Nama-e-Shahi", "Tazkirat-ul-Hukama", "Arwar-ul-Tahqeeq" and *"Risala Dar Akhlaq"* etc. are the few examples of such literature produced in Golconda.

The Qutb Shahi rulers seem to have paid considerable attention to the development of medicine and health. The remains of "Dar-ul-Shifa" clearly speak of this interest. A medical college was also attached to this magnificent public hospital. Eminent physicians and surgeons like, Mir Mohammed Momin, Shamsuddin Ali al Husaini, Hakim Safiuddin Gilani, Hakim Taqiuddin Mohammed bin Sadruddin, Hakim Nizamuddin Ahmed Gilani and Hakim Jebrail are seen in the kingdom. In addition to them the Indian, the Iranian, the Armenian and the Iraqi physicians were also attached to the Qutb Shahi Court.

Research was carried out individually and collectively in different branches of medicinal services by eminent physicians, generally under the royal patronage. The real contribution of Qutb Shahi physicians can better be evaluated by the experts of Greek-Arab medicinal history.

The branches of medicinal science to which the physicians of Golconda contributed, are many. Their contributions may be estimated in broad categories as: Pharmacology, Pathology and Therapeutics, Hygiene, Weights and Measures.

"Ekhtiyarath-e-Qutb Shahi" of Mir Momin, *"Mizan-ul-Tabba-e-Qutb Shahi"* of Taqiuddin Mohammed bin Sadruddin, *"Khawas-ul-Adwiya"* and *"Majmu'a-e-Hakim-ul-Mulk Gilani"* of Hakim Nizamuddin Gilani and an excellent work of Pathology and therapeutics, *"Makhzan-e-Tibb-e-Qutb Shahi"*

of an unknown author, are some of the landmarks of the medicinal literature of the Qutb Shahi period.

Apart from its purely literary growth, a language develops into its various aspects on account of its use in different walks of life. In every walk, it assumes a distinct character having a profound bearing on its etymology and syntax or even on its paleography.

The sources reflecting on the administrative Persian of the Qutb Shahi period are mainly, the Archival records. Nevertheless, epigraphs, seals and coins too have a bearing on the development of Persian as an administrative language in Golconda.

Besides a number of Persian manuscripts, considerable Archival records, relating to the various grants made by the Qutb Shahi rulers, comprise official documents of the government, as well as the documents relating to the private dealings and transactions are preserved in the various libraries, private possessions, research institutes and the repositories of Andhra Pradesh.

The language of the documents is mainly Persian, but on occasions these records are bilingual and have Telugu endorsements in it. It may be interesting to note; that even Telugu endorsements contain Persian words. These words may be the proper nouns or designator titles or administrative terminology or the Hijra dates etc.

The documents which could be traced from different sources may be broadly classified into four categories.

1. Administrative documents: such as Farman, Sanad, Ahkam, Parwana, Ruq'a and Jama-o-Kharch etc.

2. Deed of transactions, (3) Bonds, (4) Miscellaneous.

An Epigraph is the most real, subtle and condensed literature inscribed in an exclusively beautiful way and on the most durable material. Every epigraph reads about certain memorable event or

human action.

The Qutb Shahi monuments like Forts, Palaces, Hospitals, Mosques, Schools, Tombs, Ashur khana, Gateways and Bridges etc. normally hold epigraphs. Most of these epigraphs are in Persian language.

The epigraphs or inscriptions are both in prose and verses of simple or superb artistic nature of writing. These inscriptions are sometimes mixed with Arabic. Nevertheless, some inscriptions are in Arabic, Telugu and Deccan languages. These epigraphs may be classified as religious and secular. The study of these inscriptions throws light on the Socio-religious and cultural conditions of the society.

Seals were used on all official documents and deed of transaction. Generally, the seals were officially assigned to the administrative personnel. Besides official seals some of the Qutb Shahi monarchs had their personal seals. Usually these seals contain a Persian couplet, as its legend. Personal seals of five Qutb Shahi rulers from Ibrahim Qutb Shah to Abdullah Qutb Shah are seen affixed on the manuscripts and books of their libraries. The private parties had their seal of their own choice.

There is no doubt that every citizen of Qutb Shahi kingdom used a coin which was linguistically Persian throughout several generations. These coins have been unilingual as both the obverse and reverse had Persian text struck on them.

In short, Persian language in Golconda developed in a situation, which was pledged first by the then people of Deccan, used by the immediate elite and the administrative personnel. This surrounding provided a narrow encirclement, which both the Persians and Deccan folks had to develop in an atmosphere of Telugu, which was spoken throughout the kingdom at large. It had been the native language of the indigenous people of Andhra Desa. Throughout the period, there is no record of the indigenous

Telugu speaking people feeling any inconvenience with this language.

The mass of Persian literature produced in Golconda is our valuable cultural heritage. It greatly helps in reconstruction of our history in a correct perspective and also in understanding international connections of our culture.

MULTAQAT AND MAARIF

Mohammad Mustafa Shareef

(Two Unpublished Arabic works of Khaja Bandanawaz)

Hazrath Syed Mohammed Hussaini popularly known as Khaja Bandanawaz d. 825 H. was a versatile, genius, prolific writer and above all renowned sufi of Chishti Order. He was the only sufi in Chishti Order who richly contributed to Islamic Sciences in Arabic and Persian languages. He had a good command in Arabic, Urdu, Persian and Sanskrit.

According to his closed disciple Mohammed Ali Samani, Khaja Bandanawaz wrote 104 books in equation with his age of 104 years.

In this paper an attempt is made to highlight his unpublished Arabic works. According to Tareekh-e-Habibi and Siya-e-Mohammadi, Bandanawaz had written five books in Arabic as under:

- Al-Multaqat
- Maarif-al-Awarif Fi Sharhi Awarifil-al-Maarif
- Marginal Notes on Tafsir Kashshaf of Allama Zamakhshari
- Commentary of the holy Quran on the style of Kashhaf
- Commentary of Sahih Bukhari

The last three books have been mentioned by many writers but their manuscripts could not be traced yet. However, the manuscripts of first two celebrated works of Bandanawaz i.e. Multaqhat and Maarif-al-Awarif are available in the libraries.

Introduction to Multaqat:

It is a unique and rare sufistic commentary of the holy Quran in Arabic. It consists of 1800 pages of big size. Its copies are available in the India Office Library and Nasaria library of Lucknow.

The manuscript copy of India Office is divided into two volumes. The first volume comprises the commentary of first half of the Quran begins with surah Fatiha and concludes with surah Kahaf. The second volume encompasses the commentary of the second half of the holy Quran which begins from surah Maryam and ends with the surah Nas. The eminent orientalist Otto Loth mentioned these two copies of the commentary in the India Office catalogue printed in 1877. But he expressed his doubt about the commentator of these two volumes bearing Ms. No. 109 and 111.

But there is an evident internal proof which substantiates that the "Multaqat" is the original commentary of Hazrat Bandanawaz.

To justify the authenticity of this commentary, another celebrated work of Bandanawaz is of great help. Bandanawaz wrote the commentary of "Basmala" in Maarif, the same commentary of "Basmala" is found in Multaqat written during his stay in Delhi. On the comparison of the commentaries of Basmala of the above mentioned two books, it is easy to establish the firm opinion that Multaqat is the original work of Bandanawaz.

Another manuscript of the Multaqat is found in Nasaria, Lucknow but it is not a complete one. The first page of the Nasaria manuscript has two seals. - The first seal "Al-Mulk Lillah (the absolute kingdom is in the hands of Allah). The second seal says "Hussain". The first few pages of the manuscript are missing. The commentary begins with the explanation of the last verse of surah Baqarah and ends with the last ayah of surah Kahaf.

The style of the commentaries of both the manuscript of Indian Office and Nasaria library are identical as both the commentaries

follow the same procedure of the commentary of the selected ayah under the headings i.e. Haqaiq (realities) Lataif (secret things) and Multaqat (selected ones).

Style of Commentary:

As indicated by the title of the commentary i.e. Multaqat (selected), Bandanawaz doesn't explain each and every ayah, but he chooses only such ayah which has inner meanings in it. As stated earlier, each selected ayah is explained under three headings viz: Haqaiq, Maarif and Multaqat.

Under Haqaiq, he explains the ayah in a general way giving necessary comments. Under Lataif, he explains the words and quotes related incidents to them.

For instance, while explaining the word "Isra" he says; there are many opinions about this word. But we are of the view that the most authentic is that once he was honoured with Meraj (ascension) with body and soul and in the second time with only soul.

In short, this is a purely sufistic commentary focusing on the inner meaning of ayah. It neither deals with *Ahkham* (احكام) nor with *halal* and *haram* (الحلال والحرام) but it highlights the spiritual theme of the ayah. Bandanawaz extensively quotes respected Imam Jafar Sadiq, Razi, Siyuti, Ibn Ata, Junaid, Shibli.

Language:

The language is very simple but influenced by the style of Qazi Fadil of Abbasyde period. Bandanawaz was a great poet of his time. He composed poetry chiefly in Persian and in Deccan languages. He had good command in Arabic poetry as well. Though he did not compose poetry in Arabic, but he extensively quotes some poets in support of his views.

Below-mentioned is a commentary of Al-Multaqat which shows his style, depth, knowledge and excellence in Arabic language.

”ووجدك ضالاً فهدى : لطائف – ويقال ضالاً فينا متبحراً فهديناك بنا إلينا
ويقال ضالاً عن مجتبي لك فعرفتك أني أحبك.

حقائق : قال ابن عطاء : الضال في اللغة المحب أي وجدك محباً للمعرفة
فمن عليك وذلك في قوله في قصة يوسف : إنك ضال لك القديم أي محبتك
القديمة ولا يكون الوجدان إلا بعد الطلب وكان طالباً له في الأزل“

(Al-Multaqat, Vol. II, P. 980)

Introduction to Ma'arif-al-Awarif:

Khaja Bandanawaz is known as Qutub of Deccan (Spiritual pole) for his spiritual teachings and discourses. He greatly influenced the Deccan part of India. The inhabitants of Deccan region used to love him so deeply that they named the lunar month Zeeq'aad as Bandanawaz because Zeeq'ad witnesses his annual Urs.

The central idea of Bandanawaz's teachings was love of Allah and His beloved Prophet Hazrat Mohammed (May Allah shower His blessings and peace on him). He preached the concept of universal brotherhood. He loved all sections of people irrespective of cast, colour and creed. His shrine is being visited by all the people regardless of their religion.

It is the featuring characteristic of Bandanawaz' mission that he influenced and attracted both the sections of people i.e. educated and uneducated. He wrote for both the sections.

Among his celebrated works meant for the scholars and Sufis, is Maarif-al-Awarif which is considered to be the most important work.

Maarif-al-Awarif is basically the commentary of a celebrated book on Sufism in Arabic entitled "*Awarif-al-Maarif*" written

by Sheikh Shihabuddin Suharwardi (632 H), founder of Suharwardi Chain in Iraq. The book comprises sixty three chapters.

Sensing the teachings and contents of the book, all the Sufis irrespective of their spiritual orders, read it and propagated its teachings among their disciples and some Sufis translated it into Persian and Urdu. But no one attempted to explain its inner secrets in Arabic. Khaja Bandanawaz, being a linguist and practicing Sufi not only translated it into Persian but also wrote its commentary in Arabic and named it "*Maarif-al-Awarif*".

It is the only Arabic commentary available in the world at large. Its lone manuscript is available in Moulana Azad Research institute, in Arabic and Persian at Tonk in Rajasthan bearing the number 61 in the catalogue of the Institute.

This commentary comprises 1100 pages divided into two volumes. The first volume has the commentary of twenty nine chapters of Awarif, whereas the second volume has a commentary of thirty four chapters. The manuscript is in good condition. It is written on a long page.

Language & Style:

The language and style of Maarif is greatly influenced by Abbasside style especially that of Qadi Faadil. As stated earlier, Bandanawaz did not explain each and every word of all the sixty three chapters, but he selected few complex and unusual words and phrases of Awarif under a caption "قوله" i.e the word of sheikh Shahabuddin Saharvardi and then he started explaining the selected word quoting the Ahadis, classical Arabic poetry and sayings of eminent Sufis like Jafar Sadiq, Junaid, Sari Saqaati, Ibnu Ata, Abu Bakr Shibli and others.

The commentary of Bandanawaz on (بسمه) substantiates what is stated above He says:

يقول في بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

"لسان التفسير يفسر بأن النبء حرف لا بد أن يكون له مما يتعلق به وهو ابتدائي أو ابتدأ يقدر مقدما أو مؤخرا لنكتة أو لصحة، ولسان التحقيق ينطق بان الباء حرف التضمن، أي بالله ظهرت الحادثات وبه وجدت المخلوقات، فما من حادث مخلوق وحاصل مسبوق إلا بالحق وجوده، وللحق ملكه، ومن الحق بدؤه، وإلى الحق عوده، فيه وحد من وحد، وجحد من الحد، ويقال: قال بسم الله ولم يقل بالله لئلا يشتبه بالقسم، ولأن الاسم هو المسمى عند العلماء، ولا ستصفاء القلوب عن العلائق واستخلاص الأسرار عن العوائق يكون الورود على الله بقلب منقى وسر مصفى.

ويقال: قال بسم الله ولم يقل بالله رعاية لحسن الأدب وتنبيهها إلى الترقي بالتدرج من الاسم إلى المسمى ومن الذكر إلى المذكور، ومن الصفة إلى الذات.

في الحقائق قىال: إن الباء في بسم الله أنه بالله ظهرت الأشياء وبه فنيت وبتجليه حسنت المحاسن، وباستتاره قبحت وسمجت. قال الصادق في بسم: الباء بقاءه، والسين سنائه، والميم ملكه.... الخ"

"قوله هو الصوفي: أي القامع نفسه عن حلاواتها والقاهر عليها يصرف زمامها إلى ما هو غير هواها وخلاف لذاتها وحلاوتها وهو أعز وأشد لأن للهوى حلاوة الحب، فيجب على الصوفي وقلعها وقطعها، وقد قيل: وقلب الصوفي ما دلت حلاوة الحب الصفي" ("ص": 80، من المعارف)

Note: Both these works are expected to be published by Dairatul Ma'arifil Osmania in near future.

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THE RECIPROCITY BETWEEN THE TEXT AND THE MARGINS IN MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS

Firoozeh Papan Matin

The following evaluates copies of a twelfth-century Persian mystical manuscript whose text and margins suggest important inquiries on the life of the author and his association with an early Chishti master of Central Asia. This is a plausible question to address for the author is among the most important scholars of Islamic mysticism whose teachings are widely reflected in the treatises of the early Chishti mystics of India. The treatise under consideration is the *Tamhidat* (Introduction) by the Iranian mystic scholar Abu al-Ma'ali Abdallah ibn Abi Bakr Muhammad ibn Ali ibn al-Hasan ibn Ali al-Miyanji, known as Ayn al-Quzat al-Harnadhani who was born in Iran in A.D. 1096 or 1098 and was executed in his natal city of Hamadan on the charge of heresy in 1131. The *Tamhidat*, Ayn al-Quzat's final work, is organized in ten chapters, which offer a comprehensive outline of his major discussions. The *Tamhidat* is an exposition of the mysteries of the hidden realms of creation (*alarn al-ghayb*) and offers a detailed description of how Ayn al-Quzat perceives these subtle realities and articulates them in writing. In addition, the treatise offers information about Ayn al-Quzat's teachers and some of his associates. The present study considers the information that appears

in selected passages from the manuscript copies of the *Tamhidat* and their corresponding margins in order to investigate the possibility of contact between the author and his contemporary Chishti Shaykh, Qutb al-Din Mawdud (d. A.D. 1133), one of the early founders of the Chishti order whose later members settled in the Deccan region in the fourteenth-century.

Ayn al-Quzat came from an important family of jurists and had many disciples and followers including some among the Saljuq court nobles. He was celebrated as an exceptionally talented mystic scholar whose command of Islamic religious sciences made him comparable with the great theologian of his time Abu Hamid Muhammad Ghazzali (A.D. 1058-1111). This comparison was apt because Ayn al-Quzat belonged to the same intellectual circle and was the disciple of the younger brother of Ghazzali, the distinguished mystic and author Ahmad ibn Muhammad Ghazzali (d. A.D. 1126). This teacher and disciple were advocates of *sama*, listening to music as a spiritual practice. Their writings on *sama* and the profound spiritual meaning of love and faith on the unseen, were subject matters that the early Chishti leaders of India studied and incorporated in their own work.

The early Chishti scholars celebrated Ahmad Ghazzali and Ayn al-Quzat as defining authors of mystical literature and paid homage to them for their discussions on *sama*. They acknowledged Ghazzali's treatise, *Bawariq al-Ilma' fi al-Radd 'Ala Man Yuharrimu al-Sama* (The Lightning-Flashes of Indication Concerning the Refutation of Those Who Declare Audition Forbidden in General) as a classical manifesto in defense of *sama*, which they used in giving shape to their own discourse on this subject. Ayn al-Quzat, following the footsteps of his teacher, described *sama* as a spiritual exercise that brought the wayfarer in contact with the illumination of the divine realm. In the fourth chapter of the *Tamhidat*, "Know Yourself in Order to Know God," he spoke of *sama* as a reality

that involved the transformation of the heart when the light of God shone through the wayfarer and obliterated the fire of Satan. This experience was versified by some mystics who attested to the transformation while being in *sama*.²

It is likely that *sama* provided the occasion for bringing these Iranian mystics in contact with their contemporary Chishti Sheikh, Qutb al-Din Mawdud, an important mystic among the early founders of the order in Chisht. Mawdud replaced his father, Khawaja Yusuf Chishti, as the leader of the order at the age of twenty-six, or according to some sources twenty-eight. He is said to have memorized the Qur'an by the age of seven. Miracles that are attributed to him include resurrecting the dead and invoking in his disciples visions of the unseen.³ It is known that when Abu Nasr Ahmad Jam (A.D. 1049-1141), who was a disciple of the famous Abu Sa'id Abu al-Khayr (A.D. 967-1049), reached Herat, Mawdud went to visit him. He spent three days with this master and received teachings from him.⁴ This is the only travel by Mawdud that is recorded in the biographical sources. Absence of recorded information about travels by either Mawdud or Ayn al-Quzat and Ahmad Ghazzali to meet with each other, does not refute the possibility that they did hold meetings during their lifetime. The Chishti sources associate the memory of Mawdud with that of Ayn al-Quzat and Ahmad Ghazzali. Sheikh Abd al-Rahman Chishti (d. A.D. 1683), the author of the biographical dictionary *Mir'at al-Asrar* (Mirror of Secrets) ranks Ahmad Ghazzali and Ayn al-Quzat among the principal teachers of the Chishti order and places them and Qutb al-Din Mawdud in the same category as the fourteenth generation of divine men after the Prophet.

The possibility of relations between Mawdud, Ahmad Ghazzali, and Ayn al-Quzat during their lifetime, in the twelfth-century, may be attested by evidence from the *Tamhidat*. At one place in the *Tamhidat* Ayn al-Quzat counts a person named Mawdud among

his sheikhs, but he does not explain if he is Qutb al-Din Mawdud Chishti. He identifies Mawdud as an important Sheikh next to his other teachers, Sheikh Baraka, Ahmad Ghazzali, and Muhammad Ghazzali. This is the only time that Ayn al-Quzat mentions the name Mawdud, which could indicate that although Mawdud was an important member of Ayn al-Quzat's milieu, he was among them so infrequently that Ayn al-Quzat did not mention him as often as the others. Mawdud was a popular name in medieval Ghazna and Herat.⁵ The Mawdud of the *Tamhidat* was probably from that region rather than the Arab-speaking world, because he spoke Persian and Ayn al-Quzat remembered him by a verse of Persian poetry that he frequently recited. This evidence supports the argument that Ayn al-Quzat was probably referring to Qutb al-Din Mawdud Chishti, from the region of Transoxania. In the introduction to Gisudaraz's *Shark Tamhidat* (Commentary on the *Tamhidat*) 'Ata Hussain, the Indian scholar of Gisudaraz, refers to Mawdud as proof that Qutb al-Din Mawdud is the individual in focus.⁶ The present study, however, remains cautious about drawing definitive conclusions based on Ayn al-Quzat's reference since biographical dictionaries and writings by other Chishti mystics do not speak about contact between Qutb al-Din Mawdud and Ayn al-Quzat. Yet, absence of recorded information on this subject does not refute its possibility for Mawdud could very well have travelled westward to Iran, met with Ahmad Ghazza'i and 'Ayn al-Quzat, and from there proceeded to Mecca on the same route that many of his predecessors had taken. The following will address the reference in the *Tamhidat* in light of these considerations.

Tamhidat, similar to *Mir'at al-Asrar*, lists Ayn al-Quzat, Mawdud, and Ahmad Ghazzali together as the spiritual elite of its discourse. It describes them as the *rasikhunfi al-'ilm*, or the firm authorities on the knowledge of God: the ones who observe the light of Muhammad and Satan and express their visions through poetry. Against this background, Ayn al-Quzat introduces Mawdud

as his Sheikh and even elevates him above Muhammad Ghazzali when he explains that he knew about the special relationship of Ahmad, Mawdud, and Baraka with God earlier than he perceived Muhammad Ghazzali is also one of them. Muhammad Ghazzali is the tenth sheikh whom his invisible guides confirmed to be among the rank of the *rasikhunfi al-'ilm*.⁷ They were endowed with a knowledge that is neither of this earth nor of the heaven: it is found in the heaven of the heart of the choicest seekers. These people endured difficult spiritual practices in preparing their heart for receiving secrets of the unseen. Ayn al-Quzat identifies the genesis of their knowledge to be the instance of the covenant when man accepted God's pledge of love. He explains that there is a place on the path when the wayfarer sees God in his heart as he sees himself in the light of God. At this juncture, the distinction between the lover and the beloved is obliterated. Poetry and *sama* are effective mediums for cultivating the heart to accept this light. In order to further clarify this point Ayn al-Quzat cites the following verse by Ahmad Ghazzali:⁸

"O God, the mirror of your beauty is this heart. Our
soul is rose petal and your love is like the nightingale.
In the beauty of your light I see myself without a self.
Thus in this world every one's intent is he himself."

These lines, an interpretation of the hadith "The believer is the mirror of the believer" (*al-mu'minu miratul-mimind*), provide the occasion for Ayn al-Quzat to reiterate that Ahmad Ghazzali, Mawdud, Ayn al-Quzat himself, and his other Sheikhs, saw themselves and each other reflected in the mirror of their hearts. Their self-identification with one another and with God had a qualitative effect on their perception of the unseen in which they saw their oneness with and separation from God. This kind of understanding earned them the title *rasikhunfi al-'ilm* because they were set on the path of constantly striving for a higher truth that

removed them from their stance of separation and took them closer to union. This visionary mode of understanding defined their interpretation of faith and infidelity. The above-cited poem by Ghazzali compares the ensemble of the enchanted mystics with intoxicated nightingales in the garden of love and gnosis. The garden of the poem—a metaphor for the garden of mirrors and the heaven that is found in the heart of the ecstatic lover—is where these lovers see and recognize each other in the illuminations of the unseen. This image is complemented with the poem's meter pattern of ramal muthamman inakhbun whose energetic tenor is readily adaptable to the beat of dance music in *sama*. This poem and the other stanzas that Ayn al-Quzat employs in this section of the Tamhidat where he mentions Mawdud point to *sama* and *sama* gatherings as the context for the meeting with Mawdud. Another important verse is the one which Ayn al-Quzat mentioned that his Sheikh Mawdud was in the habit of repeating. Ayn al-Quzat lists this verse immediately after the poem by Ghazzali.⁹

Our Sheikh Mawdud repeated this verse often:

If the ascetic reaches the beauty of that visage

We can reach the district [of the beloved] with just one cry of huy

Ayn al-Quzat identifies Mawdud as his Sheikh but does not specify if he heard Mawdud directly, heard about his ways from others, or met him in his visions and dreams. Regardless, he makes it clear that he is intimately familiar with his Shaykh's habit of repeating this very verse.

The phrase, our Sheikh Mawdud, identifies him as the core of passage number sixty-seven while discussing on heresy, the black light of Satan, and meditation through prayer.¹⁰ This instance is the only time that the name Mawdud is mentioned in all but one of the manuscript copies of the Tamhidat. Mawdud's name is brought up a second time in the St. Petersburg manuscript copy of the Tamhidat (MS. no. 3466, A.D. 1440).¹¹ Verses that appear in

passage two-hundred-eighty-two are in this copy of the manuscript accompanied with a marginal note that identifies the poet to be Mawdud Chishti. The complex quality of these verses and their literary cross-references are discussed by the author of this article in another study. Here it is sufficient to add that if the Sheikh that Ayn al-Quzat is referring to is Qutb al-Din Mawdud, then poetry and *sama* provide an appropriate occasion for recalling the memory of this Chishti leader.

In conclusion, the Chishtis were in accord with Ghazzali and Ayn al-Quzat on the subject of *sama* and it is likely that Sheikh Mawdud Chishti met with these mystics and held poetry and *sama* sessions with them. This observation is reinforced by the brief marginal information that is intended as a reference to the discussion in the text. The margin, in this case, proves to be far from an auxiliary to the text and in certain respects dominates the text. It is apt to say that it fulfills a significant role in interpreting the subject and-as margins are ideally expected to do, it takes the subject beyond the confines of the page frame. In this specific case, the margin offers greater understanding of the relationship between the author and the early founders of an enduring Muslim order in the Deccan.

References:

- 1 The Tamhidat's ten chapters are:

Introducing the First Principle: The Difference between Acquired Knowledge and Knowledge by Proximity

Introducing the Second Principle: The Conditions for the Wayfarer on the Path of God

Introducing the Third Principle: Humans Are Created in Three Types

Introducing the Fourth Principle: Know Yourself in Order to Know God

Introducing the Fifth Principle: Describing the Five Pillars of Islam

Introducing the Sixth Principle: Reality and the States of Love

Introducing the Seventh Principle: The Reality of the Heart and the Soul

Introducing the Eighth Principle: Mysteries of the Qur'an and the Secret of the Creation of Man

Introducing the Ninth Principle; An Explanation of the Reality of Faith and Faithlessness

Introducing the Tenth Principle: The Essence and the Reality of the Earth and the Sky Is the Light of Muhammad and the Light of Satan

- 2 'Ayn al-Qudat al-Hamadhani, *Tamhidat*, 4th ed., edited by 'Afif 'Usayran (Tehran: Manuchehri, 1991) sec. 85, p. 63. He is referring to the famous mystic Abu al-'Abbas al-Qassab who always recited the following lines in samal: "We put a sight in the kernel of the eye II And fed it through the, eye II Suddenly we chanced at the district of beauty II Now we are rid of both the sight and what is worth seeing."
- 3 Nizam al-Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad Siddiqi al-Husaini, *Karamat al-Awliya'*. MSS 123, Catalogue no. 505, Biographies, Persian (Hyderabad: Salar Jung Museum Library), pp. 396-98.
- 4 Muhammad Wala Shukuh, *Safinat al-Awliya dar 'Ilm Sayr*. MS 22, Catalogue no. 496, Biographies, Persian, (Hyderabad: Salar Jung Museum Library), folio 201.
- 5 It was a name that was used in the Ghaznawid court in that region. For instance, Mawdud was the son of Mas'ud ibn Mahmud ibn Sabuktakin,
- 6 Gisudaraz, *Shark Zubdat al-Haqa'iq al-Ma'rufbi Shark Tamhidat*, edited by 4Atta Husayn (Hyderabad: Mu'in Press, 1945) p. 5.
- 7 *Tamhidat*, sec. 366, pp. 280-81.
- 8 *Tamhidat*, sec. 366, pp. 281-82.
- 9 *Ibid.*, sec. 367, p. 282.
- 10 *Ibid.*, sec. 67, pp. 48-49.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 48n10. "Usayran observes this note in his manuscript edition. His observation is noted by Ahmad Mujahid. See, Ahmad Ghazzali, *Majmii'i-yi Athar Farsi Ahmad Ghazzali*, 3rd ed., edited by Ahmad Mujahid (Tehran: Intisharat-i Danishgah-i Tehran, 1997) p. 269.

ARABIC LITERARY AND CULTURAL ASPECTS IN MEDIEVAL DECCAN

Syeda Talath Sultana

The rich Indian history presents before us the literary and cultural achievement of Arabic not only in northern part of it but also in the south viz Deccan. If we just focus on the literary aspects of Arabic in the medieval period we find a vast variety of manuscripts, books epitaphs and calligraphy on buildings, tombs, parchments and so on. It offers us an in-depth study of this classical language and its development in a far off country from the place of birth.

Arabic found its place as a holy language in the eye of Kings and their subjects. We find a rich collection of artistic manifestations along with literary pursuits in this classical language in medieval Deccan. It joins us with the Western Asian Arabic countries with a strong bond. Arabic is therefore a language of international stature and needs to be patronized in modern India as well.

Apart from the rich collection of Arabic, rare manuscripts are also present in the libraries such as Asafia Library, Jamia-Nizamia Library, Rauzatul Hadees, Salar Jung Museum Library, Khaleelia Library, Osmania University Library Dairatul Maarif. EFLU and Ihyaul Marif an-Numaniah etc.

In Addition to this, most of the Arabic publications were brought out by the "*Dairatul Maarif*" a specific Arabic literary Institution of publishing rare manuscripts of Arabic Literature and

Science. "Dairatul Maarif was founded by Syed Hussain Bilgrami in 17th Century A.D. in places like Hyderabad, Aurangabad. Daulatabad and Golconda where Arabic manuscripts are found on different subjects such as Tafseer (Commentary), Fiqha (Jurisprudence), Tibb (Medicine), Nahu (Syntax) Haiat (Astronomy), Hadees-e-Imamia. Some of them preserved in Salar Jung Museum.

I. **Khazanatur Riwayaat** (خزانة الروايات)

In this manuscript, A well known work on Hanafi Jurisprudence done by Qadi Chakkan al-Hindi-al-Hanafi (d 920/1514) in which many earlier works are mentioned. This manuscript is transcribed by Ahmed b. Chand Mohd. It is in clear Naskh of 105/1643 A.D. written in Doulatabad. It consists of 324 folios and Manuscript No. Fiqh: 14.

II. **Anwarul Tanzil wa Asrarul Tawil:** (انوار التنزيل واسرار التأويل)

The author of this manuscript is Qadi Nasiruddin. Abu saeed Abdullah b. Umar al-Baidawi al-Shafai, who was a great famous commentator. It was transcribed in 1060/1650. F. 411 in good Naskh and is a Tafseer under the seal of Hisamul-Mulk.

III. **Rasailul-Amili:** (رسائل الأملی)

This copy consists of three treatises by the author Bahauddin al-Amili.

1. **Tashriul Aflak** (تشریح الافلاك)

On FF folio IV-15. This book was written by Bahauddin Mohd Amili who died in 1621 A.D. This copy is dedicated to Shah Tahmasp al-Hussaini as-Safawi.

2. **Risalatul fi Tahqiqil Kurrah** (رسالة في تحقیق الكرة)

folio 16V-33V. It is a treatise on the globe and its measurements.

3. The third treatise is As-Sahifatu fi ilmil ustralab on folio 34V to 42V. This manuscript was transcribed in 1010 A.H/1601 A & 1602 A.D. in Al-Kul Kundah (Golconda). It consists of only 42 folios in good nastaliq, manuscript No. Is Haiat-04.

IV. Kitab-e-Ghuna wa Muna (کتاب غنی و منی)

This manuscript was compiled by the author Abu Masur al-Hasan b. Nuh-al-Qamari. He was a contemporary of Rhazes.

This work is divided into 3 maqhalas. It was transcribed for Hakim Muhammed Murad b. Sulaiman Firozabadi in 1098 A.H/ 1687 A.D. at Aurangabad.

This manuscript consists of 243 folios with good interlinear gold work on folio IV-2. Manuscript No. Is 163-53.

V. Kitabul Qanoon (کتاب القانون)

It is a medical encyclopedia, the book of Qanoon by the Avicenna. This manuscript was transcribed by the scribe Jafar Ali in 1243. A.H/1828 A.D. in the Madrasa of Hakim Ghulam Hussain Khan at Hyderabad. It consists of 159 folios written in Shikasta-Nastaliq. Manuscript No. Is 60/1.

VI. Thazeebul-Ahkam (تهذيب الأحكام)

The second law of the four canonical collections of Shiah traditions. It was compiled by Abu Jafar Muhammed b. Ali b. Hasan b. Musa b. Babawiah al Qummi.

This manuscript is transcribed by Darwish Ali b. Mulla Ali on 1070/1660 at Hyderabad. It consists of 423 folios and the manuscript No. is Hadith-e-Imamia-81.

VII. Sharhul Alfia

A commentary on Alfiah of Ibn-e-Hashim by Abu Mohammed

Bahauddin b. Abdur Rehman known as ibn Aquil. It was transcribed in good Naskh. The main characteristics of this manuscript is diacritical marks by Taifur b. Sultan Mohammed al-Bustani in 1649 A.D. at Hyderabad. It consists of 279 folios and the manuscript No. is Nahu 48/1.

The Deccani region of our country underwent political and cultural revolution until it came under Muslim rulers in the medieval period. Without going much into the history we find the great Bahmani kingdom which disintegrated into five small kingdoms or sultanates. These kingdoms greatly patronized Arabic language in addition to Persian. The five sultanates were:

1. Adil Shahi
2. Qutub Shahi
3. Nizam Shahi
4. Imad Shahi
5. Barid Shahi

Doubtlessly the literary and cultural panorama are generally used to rule influenced by the king. Therefore every art of literature and artistic building were patronized by the kings and the countries.

The important places where Arabic language and literature flourished were mainly Bijapur, Gulbarga, Aurangabad, Golconda and Bidar. It is again a fact that 'Arabic language and its literary achievement are observed along with the Persian language. At that time Urdu had not taken its literary shape. Therefore Persian was the lingua Franca of whole India in north as in south Deccan. The king and his people had a holy view of Arabic language and so they took great interest in its development in various forms.

We find a brilliant galaxy of divine poets, musicians, painters, calligraphers, illuminators, historians and traditionalists adorned the court of Sultan at Bijapur, Golconda etc.

Let us study in detail the poets, persons, (Sufis) and other

works of literary art in Arabic in the medieval Deccan.

Poets:-

A large number of poets and writers flourished in the Deccan under the patronage of the Bahmani, the Adil Shahi, the Qutub Shahi and the Nizam Shahi Dynasties. But a few of Bahmani dynasty are known to us. More over many great Sufis came into existence in medieval time.

1. Shah Raju Qattal Hussaini the Great saint and a poet:-

He migrated to Deccan at Khuldabad from Delhi in 725H. his name was Syed Yousuf Ali Bin Mohd. A copy of his Diwan is preserved in State Central Library .i.e, Asafiya library at Hyderabad which comprises some ghazals, Qasidas and Qittas. Shah Raju Qattal Hussaini emphasised the doctrines of spiritualism and had expressed his views in lyrics some on topics such as Khudi (ego), *Tajalli* (revelation) *Nur-e-Ahmed*. (the light of the Prophet PBUH) *Ma siva Allah* (nothing other than God) *Hamaust*. He died in 731 H. His tomb is in the heart of the city Hyderabad.

2. Isami:

He was the first great poet of Bahmani Kingdom and he is the author of futuhu's-Salatin. He has written this book in verse form of medieval India at Daulatabadin 751 H.

3. Khwaja Gesu Daraz:-

He was a renowned saint who had played a significant role in promoting the Sufism in Deccan. Khwaja Banda Nawaz, bears full name Sadruddin Abdul Path Syed Mohd Hussaini but he was popularly known as Khawja Banda Nawaz Gesu Daraz. He was born in Delhi in 721/1321 but in his early age, he was taken to

Khuldabad to be brought up. After some time he went back to Delhi where he became a disciple of Shaikh Nasiruddin Mohammed Chiragh Dehelvi. Khawaja Banda Nawaz was chosen as his successor after his death in 757/1356. Again Banda Nawaz Gesu Daraz left Delhi in 801/1398 for Deccan via Gujarat and Daulatabad, and he was reported to have arrived attnilbarga in 815/1412-13. and settled down there.

Khawja Banda Nawaz was a great scholar and a reputed poet. He wrote many books in Arabic language on religion and Sufism. Not only he was a scholar or poet but was a great Sufi too. "Anisul-ushshaq" is his Diwan of lyrics. The introductory part of the Diwan is a poem in praise of God and verses are in praise of the four orthodox caliphas and a few poems are in praise of his spiritual guide Shaikh Nasiruddin Chirag Dehlvi.

His works in Mysticism:-

Many books were written during the Bahmani period. But very fortunate that some of Khawja Banda Nawaz, works dealing with the sufistic doctrines, practices religious and ethical matters are available to us. The more important are.

1. Kitabul- Khatima :-

It was written in 807 H. and it was edited by Ata Hussain, Hyderabad 1356 H. In this book he wrote about ablution, prayer, fast etc.

2. Jawamiul-Kalim :-

This book consists of day to day verbal discussion over various matters dealing with religion, Sufism, philosophy and ethics.

This book was compiled and edited by his eldest son Syed Akbar Hussaini in 803/1400-1.

3. **Amsarul-Asrar :-**

This book is consist of mystical interpretations of the verses of the Holy Quran and the tradition. It correspond the total number of suras of Quran. It also consists of various mystic matters like, Ishq, Suluk, Tauhid, Zikr and Muraquiba etc. It was edited by Ata Hussain, Hyderabad 1350 H.

4. **Mohmud Gawan:-**

He was also a great versatile personality. He left two great landmarks. Out of them Riyazul-Insha - رياض الانشاء is collection of official and private letters on his behalf and on behalf of Bahmani Sultan to Islamic countries and Indian states, to minister of foreign and Indian Muslims Sultanates, to eminent poets, scholars, philosophers, theologians, mystics and his relatives. His diction was of Arabic origin.

5. **Muhammed II.**

Muhammed was a poet and calligrapher he was well versed both in Arabic and Persian language but unfortunately all his writings are lost leaving a few Persian versification.

ARIFI

The great poet arrived at Golconda in 1014-1606 from was Allahabad. He served in Mohammed Qutub Shahi's time. He was a distinguished poet, and preferred the classical mode of expression by maintaining scrupulous purity of language and eliminating Arabic element from his expression.

MIR MOMIN ASTARABADI:-

He toured India and arrived at Golkanda in 989/1581. Moulana Nasiruddin Musavi taught him Quranic Sciences. Mir Momin was a man of wide experience and a scholar of huge

knowledge he is an author of an extant works in Arabic and he wrote a book in Arabic language named as 'Kitabur-Rajaat' and a reply of a letter to Shah Abbas and preface to the Kathirul-Miyamin with a dignified diction and style. His poetical works collected and compiled in the form of a Diwan, a copy of his Diwan comprises of 175 folios. It is preserved in India office library. The Diwan comprises Ghazals, Marasi and Qasidas in honour of Muhammed Quli Qutub Shah. He is also the author of 'Risala-i-Miqdariya' on weights and measures.

When we come across about the Art & Architecture of medieval Deccan: The art and architecture speaks of the aesthetic sense in different forms and figures of beauty. Art is manifested in different forms like buildings, statues, paintings, literature and music and also it can be seen on variety of articles like garments, Parchments and other household wares.

Art and Architecture of a civilization can be observed in both figurative form and non-figurative form specially in the buildings, mosques, Madrasas and Tombs, etc. The non-figurative art is exhibited in calligraphy specially in manuscripts written particularly in Quranic calligraphy in different kinds of scripts with geometrical decoration, decorative curves, straight lines, vegetal or floral decorative pieces. We have seen how important role was played by the miniatures in textiles and architectural structures covered with geometrical form or in decorative items.

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2. Medievalism to modernism. By Sheila Raj.

RAWIEH GUISHANE QUTUBSAHI: A LESSER KNOWN PERSIAN WORK ON THE QUTUBSHAHI PERIOD BUILDINGS AND THE CITY OF HYDRABAD

Chander Shekhar

City description in Persian Literature like other languages and literature is one of the fascinating characteristics. For the poets and writers, it may be a subject matter to highlight the realities as well as their poetic imagination; many times they associate with the actual existing features of the buildings -both internal and external-, gardens or natural bodies including the water bodies. One may find a beautiful description Devgiri or Daulatabad in the works of Amir Khusrau. Like wise, there are various sources about the beautiful city of Hyderabad, Aurangabad in south, Kashmir, Lahore, Kangra, Delhi, Agra, Jaipur, Lucknow, Narnol and others. In spite of the splurge of the material on these, compiled in Persian which are preserved in various libraries and museums many works still are lesser known and for various reasons these are not brought to the public domain for the research work.

The genre of Shahr Ashob in Persian literature originally began with city description. Khaqani's Shahr Ashob on the city of Ray

(present day Tehran) is a vivid description of the said city and of its people. Travelogues written in Persian are the major source of information of the cities. Nasir Khusrau's *Shahnameh* provides vital information from Balkh to Aleppo, Samarkand, Simnan, Ray, Baghdad, Damshiq and many other port and surface cities of Maghrib i.e. Iraq, Syria, Egypt and other parts. He not only explains the morphology of the city culture but also provides information on the important economic and trade areas of study. For instance, when he speaks about the economic aspects of Aleppo, he states that this is hub of trade and business for the traders of east and west. Quality of compositions produced in this region is far better than the one in Samarkand.

The present paper is a reproduction of some material found in Golkunda-Hyderabad and its adjacent places which described in a work entitled, "*Rawaih-e Gulshane-Qutubshahi*," (Fragrances of the Qutub Shahi Garden) of Olfati Sawaji, an Iranian poet who came to Golkunda during the 25th ruling year during the reign of Abdullah Qutub Shah (1626-1672). Abdullah Qutub Shah's reign was the period of utmost decline of the said royal house. Olfati Sawaji who went back to Isfahan after a long stay over here met Tahir Narabadi in Isfahan. Nasrabadi continued his interaction with him till his death (1669-1672). This is how he got a place in the *Tazkira-e-Nasrabadi*. *Tazkirat-e-Ruze Raushan* on the basis of previous *tazkira* also provides some important information.

In later period Malkapuri also wrote about him in his work *Mahboobuz-zaman* in a selection of poetry which has been briefly introduced by Dr. Najma Siddiqua in her work, '*Persian language and literature in Golconda*' (pp.361-363). A brief note also appeared about the poet in the *Encyclopedia of Persian Language and Literature in Subcontinent*, which was published by Persian Academy of Iran, Tehran and in other encyclopedia with same title by Anushe (Vol.1) and also in *Karwane Hind* (Vol. 1) of Gulchane Maani. Najma

Siddiqua and the many writers of the said encyclopedias have given the reference of the said work on the basis of information available in Tazkira Nasara Badi, Tazkira-e-Roz-e-Raushan and some works of the said poet. On the basis of Malkapuri's above-said Tazkira and according to some modern scholars like Najma Siddiquie, that the manuscript of the work is not traceable.

However, it may be brought to notice that there are three manuscripts of this work available till date. Two of these are in the library of Iranian Parliament i.e. kitabkhane Majlis, and in Tehran University library (Digital section), Tehran and one in the National Museum Pakistan, Karachi. The complete manuscript is in Tehran University Library collection while other two are incomplete. There must be another or more than one manuscripts of this work in one of the collections of the city of Hyderabad or somewhere else because these three manuscripts also have some differences in their versions. Like the one of the Majlis ms. and the Lahore one have contents in prose and in poetry while the other one has only in the poetry form. The first one is scribed in Jali Nastaliq while the other one is in chaste shiksta nastaliq. But this second one has a preamble as well as a note in a different writing.

In the opening verses after the encomium part and the Bahariya Tashbib, the poet eulogies the king Qutub Shah Abdullah with following eulogistic verses about Telengana as the domain area of the said Shah:

On the basis of Malkapuri's version, Najma Siddiquie has

بهار فیض ازل قبطشاه و عبدالله کہ یافت نشان عدلش نیر تلنگانہ:

لبالب از می مهر علی و آل شدست:

پدر و دولت او ساغر تلنگانہ:

زیمین تربیت آفتاب سلطنتش:

بود بر اوج شرف اختر تلنگانہ:

سواد دیده عالم سزد اگر گردد:

زنور معدلتش کشور تلنگانه:

همیشه تا که ثباتست خاک را باشد:

ز خاک مقدم او افسر تلنگانه:

mentioned that the above-said verses are from seventh raiweh which is not true in the light of the contents of the manuscripts of the said work and it is in the preamble of the work itself. However, the poet thereafter, says that he found himself consciously duty bound to compose work highlighting some beautiful characteristics of the king and his created environment as compensation to the abundant favours he had received from this king. At the end of the first Raiyeh, while eulogizing the benevolent king, the poet says that he prays that the foot i.e. shadow of the king will remain till the day of judgment and for it his name will remain perpetual:

In the last line, the poet tells us about the beginning of the

چون روایح گلشن اخلاق حمیده اش و همیشه جان اصحاب علم را

نشاط کرامت می فرمایید:

بر ذمه فکر لازم دید و برگردن اندیشه ثابت:

که شمه از شمیم گلشن و صفش تقریر کند:

و شعبه از نغمه گلابانگ صیتش تحریر سازد، برخی از حقوق نعم احسان

ادا نموده بفایده مایده ولین شکرتم لا زیدکم تحصیل از دیاد نعمت نماید

.... اما بعد این گلدسته چمن فیض که از ریاض مبدائی نامی و گرامی

برنگین خطاب روایح گلشن قطبشهی که هم تاریخ تولد اطفال غنچاهای

خضر اقبای خضر بقایشانست گردیده:

compilation of this work namely Rawieh-Gulshan-e-Qubtshahi which is also the chronogram of the beginning of this work in 1051 AH. Interestingly, the ending word شهی was replaced in the main title as شاهی and this change was made in the year 1052 AH. Thus, the work took almost one year to be completed.

Hereafter, the poet describes the format of this work providing subtitle of every raiyeh. According to this following are the subtitle:

Thus, in seven sections as stated above and especially in the رايحهٔ اول، در توصيف رياحين اخلاق حميده و اوصاف گزيده اش که رشک فرمای فرمای گلشن جنان و غيرت فزای روضهٔ رضوانست

رياحهٔ دوم: در تعريف دولت سراي سعادت هوا که بنای دولت از بنیان عمارت عبارست والا خطابش يعنی از بينهٔ خجستهٔ کتاب وقصر هيمون سلطنت از زبر بام کلام عالی القابش اعلی از از زبر نام فرخنه صحيفه هويداست:

رياحهٔ سوم: در اسصاف رنگيني چمن فردوس بنياد حيدر آباد که شام از حسد نشاط خيزی پاکش همچو سواد شام زلف دلگیر است و طين از غيرت انبساط بخشی هوای دلکشایش همچو خطهٔ چين جبين درهم:

رياحهٔ چهارم: در وصف طرازی هيمون جشن نشاط آيين که بانبساط نه عيد هر سال در بشت بهشت را بروی هلال روزگار کشود:

رياحهٔ پنجم: در صفت پروازی فيروز لشکر نصرت قرين که روز ديدن گيتی آفتاب را از تيغبندان و شب پهره چوکی ماهر از پاسبانان شمرده:

رياحهٔ ششم: در کيفيت ساقينامه که ساغر يست از شراب معانی مالامال بل خمکدهٔ ايست از بادهٔ روحانی سرشار و نواسنجی شهنشاه عرش اقتدار که نشأ عدالتش ترطيب دماغ جهان و ترويح قلب اهل زمان عطا نموده:

رایحه هفتم: در بیان طراوت و خرمی این گلشن که از روایح ریاحین
معانی والوان گلهای مضامین دیده نکته سنجان و دماغ معنی پرور انرا
بنعیم ضیافت نواخته:

third section which speaks about the city of Hyderabad, the text provides some eye witness observations. In the description of the contents of each section entitled as Raiyeh or Rawaieh (i.e. fragrance), the first one is an eulogy of the said king and his patronage to men of art, minstrels, poets etc. while the second Raiyeh is about the sovereign palace and other buildings. He starts with the description of the grand palace which he calls Daultakhane arsh astana. Its lofty building seems to be talking to the sky and the sky bows down to talk to lofty roof. Then he proceeds to the central royal court which according to the poet is the place of seeking favours for every one. The poet calls it Dargahe Khalaïq panah. Then, he explains Jamdar Khane. This is the place where precious items and costly commodities from clothes to arms are placed. Men of different trade and skilled craft-persons from various countries decorated their products in the various corners of this house which is in fact a nawadir khane and their presence in this house is a sign of their credentials duly approved by the royal house. There is every kind of item which are desired by the inmates of the royal and noble houses. The next place he mentions is char suffe (a rectangular raised platform) meant for the security soldiers who used to keep an eye all the time.

Their presence created terror to the trouble-makers, mind and did not allow them to make any mischief. Then he narrates the beauty of Lal Mahal and Chandan Mahal in a successive mode. Thereafter he illustrates the beauty and lofty building of Gagan Mahal and then the sadar suffe (the central square) and then speaks of the Sukhan Mahal which had a high roof. The description shows that the sound in this building used to be resounding. It also shows

that there was a definite impact of Iranian architecture in the buildings of Qutub Shahi period. One may find the similar resounding or echo system in the buildings of Isphan especially in the Jama Masjid which is a double dome mosque in the Shah Square (presently known as Imam Square). About the high rise building of Sukhan Mahal and its high rise gates showing the grandeur and the decorated floors with the beautiful carpets, the poet says:

زهی عمارت عالی که از راه وسط:

زیر سایه خود داده عالمی راجا

The next building is Daulat Mahal which according to the poet repeats the strong foundation of the ruling dynasty. The building was for the use of administrative purpose. The meetings of the Privy Council used to take place here as the poet informs:

در و مجلسی با سعادت قرینه همیشه با دولت شهود همنشین

The next lofty building is Nadi Mahal (River palace). The exhilarating and spirit increasing building which has a flowing river of natural phenomena at its feet, seems to be praying for the shadow of this kingdom over it forever. The reflection of the building in the flowing water is vividly described by the poet.

مژده بیان را که بتوصیف محمدی محل سخن را بکرسی نشاند معنی را
عرش منزلت می نماید: زهی رفعت پایه که صرح آسمان را زیر دست خود
ساخته: و خهی وسعت سایه که سطح زمین را در تحت تصرف در آورده:
اگر این بنای والا رتبه سر تفاخر بعرش رسانید میر سدش زیرا که سربلندی
یافته بیابوسی تخت شانشاهی که ربع مسکون عالم سلطنت است...

The next building, as explained in the above paragraph is Muhammadi Mahal which had the seat of the king. The poet as

per the conventional eulogistic description proclaims that the king has one fourth of the earth as his domain and the other kingdoms pay him Baj i.e. tribute. But the reality was opposite to it. We know that from the time Abdullah Qutub Shah, the kingdom of Qutub Shahi was paying hefty tribute to the Mughal Empire. The inside decorations especially of the flooring and the carpets, the throne, the outside reservoirs and the beautiful side-gardens are described aptly by the poet. About the reservoirs he says:

زفرقش تاج سر سبزی نمودار : چوموی عنبرین از تارک یا
 گرفته در کنار آینه حوض : بهشتی داده جادر سینه حوض
 چه حوض آبرخ سر چشمه خور : حبابش چون صدف لبریز از در
 درخشان موجش از خورشید انور : چنان کز کاغذ آبی خط زر:
 گر شد چشمه مهر جهانتاب : که شد خط شعاعی موج این آب

At the side of this reservoir stood paradise like building, or according to the poet, the beautiful mansion known as Husiani Mahal. We know that Qutub Shahi dynasty's founder Sultan Quli Qutub Shah who hailed from Hamadan was a Shia. Hence the splendid Husaini Mahal described by Olfatī seems to be a Imam Bara or mourning place. The hall had a central pillar. The mahal had many flower plants and trees around it and was a seat of gathering of the nobles.

Adjacent to it was another building called Hyder Mahal. It had many pillars and the pillars marked the presence of erudite and strong nobility in this building. They were the elite members of the Privy Council. It needs ages to explain; the poet says, their exalted dignity as well as grandeur. Thereafter, the poet says that though all the offices and their respective personages of the court are worth to be described but in this small work it is not possible; hence he will confine only to the three offices being looked after

by the grand nobles. These three offices are like the Trinity in the court. The first one is the officer of Reshwa Nawab Rai Allami. The poet does not provide his name but it seems that he was Ibne Khatun. (It needs to be looked on for the detail of this office from other sources and the holder of the post at the time of the composition of the poet). He was a great noble and man of intellect and well informed person of his time. In the later period he was suspended from the post of Peshwa but again reinstated on the post of Sadaruu Sudur. Second grandee who has been highlighted in the text is the office of Madarul Miham being headed by Khwaja Nizamul Mulk. He has been described as the apt administrator and was holding the key of administrative wings. In the Diwani wing, the duties lied with Khwaja Shamsuddin Diwan who was like a sun of all-round knowledge and culture. Muhammad Saeed is the other man of responsibility and loyalty whom the poet praised in the course of Madarul Miham. The third personage is Dabirlul Mulk. Interestingly, the poet described the importance of this office i.e. office of the correspondence or Secretary of the State. The importance of the office has been described in Chahar Maqala and in many other too. It may be mentioned that the word Dabir is originated from Divir of old Pahlavi or Avesta commonly equalize with vedic Sanskrit's diwir which also means the letter-writer or the Munshi.

Then again the poet begins the description of the Ilahi Mahal and calls it a place of pleasantness of the shadow of God i.e. Nushatkade zille ilahi. It was the residence of the king.

Description of the location of this grand and sky touching building erected on the higher ground above the plinth area which is mentioned as the Kursi takes the imagination of the onlooker to the highest sky. He similarizes it with Sidratul Munteha i.e. the heavenly mansion of the angel Gibrad. Two round and splendid reservoirs are situated on both sides of this mansion. On the bank of both the reservoirs two gold plated elephants with water

sprinkling trunks are placed at suitable places. Positioning of both are a source of enviousness even for the moon and sun, according to the poet. (*Che khush gashte ber tarfe in I ale zar:: du hauze mudavwar ze zar ashkar:: be har hauz fedetdai aiyan:: z khartum paiwaste kauzar nishan:: chanan in du Hauz and raushan ze aab:: ke gashtand rashk meh wa aqtab.*)

Thereafter, he proceeds inside the apartments of the building Aman Mahal and calls it a place of peace, security and privacy. The palace is the place of residence of royal magnificence and there can not be any loose talk about this place. Within this inner apartment is located the palace of Bilqis Zamani known as Hayat Mahal. The said mansion is a place of chastity and piety.

All kind of etiquettes and manners had to be observed in this house, and according to poet even the bud of the flower had to be within its mannerism before it gets bloomed. The poet vividly illustrates the movement of the maids and other women at the service of the royal lady in that royal inner apartment which the poet symbolizes with Ismat serai asman far (House of countenance with the grandeur of sky) and only men of respect and reverence had permission to enter there. In the vivid description, the poet explains all kind of restrictions and mannerisms to be followed in the lady apartment. Then again the poet leads us to another important building of the royal palace cum administrative office and it is the Dad Mahal, the palace of justice. In the introduction, he speaks highly of the king and his ways of justice in every sphere. He says that the king provides equal opportunity to every one as to the sky and to the earth i.e. nobles and plebeians. The motifs of lion and cow on the far end of the hall of this mansion of justice symbolizes the justice sysem created by the benevolent king. The arches of the inner cupola are like the eyebrow of a damsel and a reservoir built therein. The lower window of the walls are like eyes of the men. The emblem of sun engraved in the middle of the main central wall is more illuminating than the sun in the sky.

The poet wishes that the buildings of the grand palace should remain intact and no evil eye should look at these and the system of justice should be continued perpetually and the royal house should continue casting its shadow on the earth forever. After the end of this second Raiyeh, the third Raiyeh provides information of the city of Hyderabad.

In the preamble, the poet describes the beautiful natural environment of this city. The whole description about the environment is about the beauty of the city, and its colorful natural phenomena.

According to him the city is blessed with the beautiful environment akin to Syria. He speaks about the festivities organized in the city every year, and about the gardens and its beautiful fragrant flowers. The vivid description is like a guide's narration of the whole area in an excellent poetic style. He begins the voyage of this paradise like palace and garden from facade and its huge gate which the poet describes as Bab-ul Jannah (the gate of paradise) in the concluding part of the first Riyah to the other smaller gates which open the doors of happiness and merriment.

(Wah che kushade rui ast ba in derwazeh buland:: Aawazeh ke rashkash Subhe bayaz shigfatgi ra ber aatish afgande wa kulle dafter ra ber bad dade) The garden like palace takes the visitor to the seventh sky. In fact, the verse which goes as here under: *(az in der gar guzarad)*

Thereafter the poet again eulogizes the king A Mullah Qutubashah in the fourth and fifth Raiyeh. In this long eulogy, he describes his achievement as a king, protector, savior, patron of men of art and literature and as well the promoter and protector of Shiaism in the land of Telengana.

The festivities of Nav roz and Eid-e-Qurban are also picturized in the poetic style. Then he also describes the favours shown to him by the king and to all other men both of nobility and plebeian.

In the sixth Riayah, the eulogy continues and describes the chivalrous and brave site of the said king.

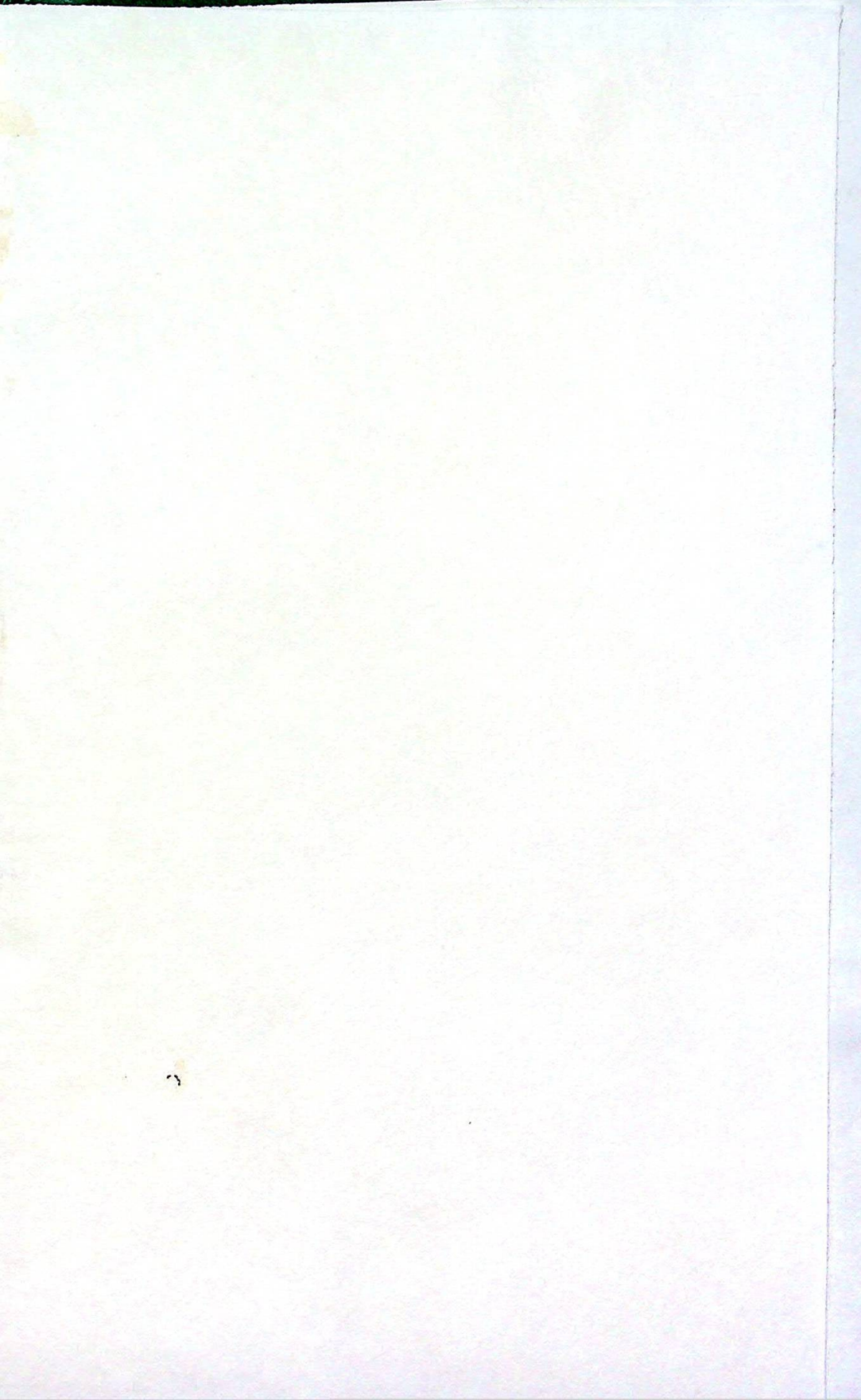
The war animals especially the elephant, and arms and armaments are also referred to. The poet highlights the awesome dominant rule of the king regarding the permission to Firangis (Europeans) to do brisk trade over there. (*Be farman e islam amad Firang*) It may be stated the Rawieh Gulshan-e-Qutubshahi of Olfati Sawooji is an important source for the study of the morphology of Hyderabad and its places. The detail may be used for the comparative study with other sources and to locate the lost buildings beautifully described in this work.

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